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Managing Multiple (Dis)Identifications: Questioning the Desirability and Utility of Identification in Volunteer Work

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Managing Multiple (Dis)Identifications: Questioning the Desirability and Utility of Identification in Volunteer Work

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Managing Multiple (Dis)Identifications: Questioning the Desirability and Utility of Identification in Volunteer Work

By

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Interest in organizational identification continues to expand alongside the growing options for organizational and member relationships. This dissertation examines the identification processes of volunteer workers at a non-profit organization and identifies the varied ways individuals aligned with or distanced themselves from different aspects of the organization. Drawing on data from interviews and observations of work at an animal shelter in the Southern U.S., this research reveals how individuals' identifications were espoused and enacted in communication. The diverse and dynamic nature of the identifications of these workers, and the role of communication in the processes identified, challenge three common scholarly assumptions concerning identification and organizations. First, identification is typically perceived as a monolithic construct, meaning that most studies view an individuals' relationship to work within an organization through a lens of *organizational identification.* The present study provides empirical support for the existence of multiple identifications within a singular organization, and considers the communicative distinctions between these identifications. Second, though research has also largely assumed that the opposite of identification is an absence of identification this dissertation argues that greater attention should be paid to

disidentification as a distinct communicative process that describes how individuals actively construct identities separate from an organizational target. The final assumption in the literature presupposes that organizational identification leads to organizational benefits and should be sought by both organizations and individual workers. The findings of this work indicate that in a non-profit context it may not always be advantageous for members to develop organizational identification. Furthermore, the communication of the animal shelter workers revealed that the ability of individuals to hold multiple identifications or switch among identifications provided them a means to endure undesirable work conditions. By demonstrating the diverse and dynamic nature of identification among workers in a non-profit context, this work provides scholars a lens with which to broaden our understanding of identification as a communicative construct and invites scholars to explore (dis)identification in varied, and novel organizational forms.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Cecilia comes into Saving Pets Daily (SPD) around 11 a.m. almost every day, grabs her name tag, and takes her last breath of fresh air for the next hour. She comes to the animal shelter to walk dogs, but she also has a "soft spot" for dogs with health issues. For example, she traveled on a family vacation for a few weeks, but she made sure that some of the other volunteers checked in on a specific dog, Leo. Leo had been fighting a digestive issue and the clinic at the shelter was not able to see him since the illness did not seem to be an emergency. For Cecilia, the inaction of the clinic was not an appropriate response. She makes sure that Leo is getting what he needs to recover so that he can be adopted.

On this particular day, Cecilia wore dark shorts, a volunteer shirt, and a bandana to cover up her short, black hair. She wore hiking shoes that could handle any terrain and endure any amount of filth. She adjusts her treat bag around her waist and then secures the leash that she has wrapped diagonally around her shoulder and chest. Then, after tightening her bandana, she heads to a large whiteboard to sign out Leo for a walk.

Leo is about a 60-pound dog that has been at the shelter for a month or so. Leo was a stray dog that was adopted as a puppy. He was with one family for a year and a half before an incident where he bit a child in the family. When he was brought back to the shelter, the dog behaviorists at the shelter were worried about the safety of the volunteers and employees that handle Leo on a regular basis. Besides his behavioral concerns, Leo either came in with or has developed some digestive issues.

As Cecilia approaches Leo's kennel, the two dogs on either side bark incessantly at Cecilia. She politely says, "I'll come get you two next, I promise." But the barking continues. She pushes the gate of the kennel toward Leo and ducks to get inside the kennel. The kennel is solid concrete on three sides and has chain link fence on the top and front of the box. Cecilia ducks in, keeps her body between Leo and the open gate, and then shuts herself in the kennel with Leo. And although SPD instructed volunteer dog handlers, such as Cecilia, to keep their distance from Leo in the kennel, Cecilia gets down on one knee and pets Leo. She mentions that Leo was "wronged by the people he was with" and states that "they made a situational mistake" which led to Leo's bite incident. Either way, Cecilia pets Leo and gets right next to him.

The imagery of Cecilia and Leo is compelling. The stench of the feces and the barking of the dogs create a stressful environment for the dogs and volunteers. But in the middle of the loud animal shelter, Cecilia, a slight woman in her late 40s, enters the closed cage of a large stray dog with a bite history. Cecilia continues her routine with Leo by placing a harness over his mouth. Leo does not fight his leash, probably because Cecilia slips him a small treat when she is done. She tells Leo to, "Sit, please" and then she swings open the gate. Leo waits, looks up at Cecilia and she says, "Let's go!" They walk out and head toward one of the grassy pens.

Before Cecilia and Leo can reach the pen, Leo stops to go the bathroom. Normally, a dog going the bathroom is part of the job and not a big deal, but Leo is having some digestive issues. Cecilia, with a bag already in her hand, attempts to clean up the mess. The messy excrement requires two bags to clean up. She bends down, with

Leo still on the leash, and ties a knot around the bag. Leo is still trying to go the bathroom and Cecilia says, "This is what he has been doing. He thinks he still has to go and then he eventually makes himself bleed." Unfortunately, at SPD foul scenes with animal feces are regular experiences for the dog walking volunteers.

Cecilia is not fazed by the filthiness of the work, nor does Leo's bite history prevent her from entering close quarters with him. Past experience working with sick and dangerous dogs has not been an issue for Cecilia and her volunteer work. She described a past experience with one dog that ended in a bite:

> And I got bit by a small dog that I was bringing just to the clinic in Briar Oaks and after they saw her they needed to do a consult with another doctor. So I took her just to go pee or whatever, just to be out and walk and it was very scary. There was a lawnmower, there were lots of people, and we were like standing in front of Meade [a building] and she got loose in that enclosed area, but the gate's open, and I threw myself at her. I was attacking her in her mind. So she bit the hell out of me, this nail will never be the same. And I threw myself at her. I didn't even know my knees were bleeding. So someone came and shut the gate. I mean, I had her and then she got—whatever—I mean, she was fine. But it's like, I've had like – and you stay here long enough shit's gonna happen.

The account of Cecilia's work with animals shows how dedicated and willing Cecilia was to endure dangerous and gross situations while volunteering at an animal shelter. For some, the initial question coming out of Cecilia's story might be, "Why? Why would someone voluntarily place themselves in challenging work?" To begin answering this

question, one must recognize that an individual's willingness to endure some of the challenging work at the animal shelter is uniquely tied to his or her identity.

* * *

Volunteers such as Cecilia are an integral part of society through their work in non-profit organizations. These organizations are unique in that they are not formed to create a financial profit, but they instead are organized around a mission that seeks to provide some benefit to the society at large (Lewis, 2013; Wilson, 2000). As of 2012, there were more than 1.4 million non-profit organizations registered with the U.S. government (McKeever & Pettijohn, 2014). These organizations serve a variety of functions; they include health, education, labor unions, professional associations, and many more. Of these 1.4 million organizations, approximately one million non-profit organizations were categorized as public charities. These organizations consist of organizations where individuals can make donations and volunteer more regularly (McKeever & Pettijohn, 2014). Public charities include art, education, health care, human service, and religious organizations. The prevalence of non-profit organizations in the U.S. makes them an important site for organizational scholarship because of their distinct organizing processes.

Researchers who study non-profit organizations examine phenomena in a setting that is foundationally unique and different from a for-profit organization. Organizations such as art museums, schools, and homeless shelters are created to serve a specific mission that impacts the immediate or broad community (Lewis, 2005). In working toward their goal, non-profits often depend on a network of volunteer workers. According

to the U.S. Bureau of Labor, more than 62 million individuals volunteered for nonprofit organizations from September 2014 to September 2015 (US Department of Labor, 2014), which means that one out of every five people is an active volunteer. On average, a volunteer in the U.S. clocks 52 hours of service each year (US Department of Labor, 2014). As a whole, Americans volunteered 7.9 billion hours in 2015, worth an estimated $184 billion (Corporation for National & Community Service, 2015).

Although volunteering is a common activity for many individuals, their involvement is often temporary. Scholars have sought to explain the transient nature of volunteer work by describing the activity as a "third place" in individuals' lives (Ashcraft & Kedrowicz, 2002; McNamee & Peterson, 2014), asserting that volunteers have relegated volunteer work to being third on the list of importance after family and work. One recent report shows that the average volunteer turnover rate in the U.S. is 36 percent (Corporation for National & Community Service, 2015). The extremely high turnover rate means that for every three volunteers who worked in 2014, approximately one volunteer stopped volunteering for his or her organization. Because many non-profit organizations rely on volunteers to complete daily organizational functions, the retention of volunteers is imperative for these organizations.

Researching non-profit organizations and the volunteers who work for them is an important pursuit for two reasons. First, volunteering is a prominent organizing activity in the U.S., which offers value to both researchers and non-profit leaders seeking insight into best practices. Additionally, as the volunteering landscape becomes increasingly diverse, it is important for scholars to examine the communicative construction of

volunteer work. For example, volunteers have started to participate in virtual volunteering (Cravens, 2006; Lewis, 2013; Murray & Harrison, 2005) in which volunteers perform work for non-profits through digital technology. Much of the online volunteer work consists of tutoring, mentoring (Cravens, 2006), and volunteer recruitment services that help to link non-profit organizations with individuals who want to volunteer (Murray & Harrison, 2005). Because virtual volunteering involves a different volunteer-organization relationship different from that in traditional volunteering, there is opportunity for scholars to address the ways in which communication technologies are used by organizations to recruit, train, and utilize digital volunteers. The breadth of volunteer work merits the attention and work of scholars who study organizational membership, work, and society.

Second, non-profit organizations are important sites of research because they often contribute to some greater societal "good." Most definitions of volunteering include some component of performing a beneficial task for others (Handy et al., 2000; Lewis, 2013; Musick & Wilson, 2000). Although pro-social perspective of volunteering is debated by scholars that argue whether or not the *intent* to do good is considered volunteering (Wilson, 2000), most scholars agree that volunteer work produces some benefit to others even if the work only benefits the organization as a free source of labor. As such, research in non-profit organizing is often seen as a form of engaged scholarship that is not only theory-building, but also provides some practical benefit to the participants and organizations researched (Barge & Shockley-Zalabak, 2008; Lewis, 2012).

The purpose of this dissertation is to uncover the identification process of volunteers that work at a non-profit organization. The present chapter details the rationale and potential contributions of research on volunteer identification and communication. First, I provide an overview of the theoretical approaches to studying volunteer work, paying particular attention to where the present study adds value to existing theory. Second, I explicate the differences between regular for-profit work and the complex membership negotiations that volunteers endure. Third, I offer the rationale for this scholarship by showing how volunteer membership is bound with an individual's identification, both of which are formed through communication. Lastly, I highlight the contributions this dissertation makes to organizational communication research.

ORGANIZATIONAL COMMUNICATION SCHOLARSHIP AND VOLUNTEERING

Volunteering is particularly important to organizational communication scholars because the membership status of volunteers might alter different communication processes and strategies, both of the organization and among volunteers. In 2005, Lewis asked organizational communication scholars to consider non-profit organizations as an important site of learning and engaged research. In particular, Lewis (2005) drew attention to the need to understand the underlying communicative properties of volunteer membership. Specifically, she mentioned that communication scholars should investigate aspects of volunteering such as the relationship between employees and volunteers at non-profit organizations.

Lewis' (2005) call for research on non-profit organizations resulted in seminal pieces on volunteerism and organizational socialization (Kramer, 2011; Kramer,

Meisenbach, & Hansen, 2013; Scott & Stephens, 2009), dissent in volunteer organizations (Garner & Garner, 2011), and identification issues among volunteers (McNamee & Peterson, 2014; Steimel, 2013; Tornes & Kramer, 2015). In addition to completing focused research on communication and volunteerism, organizational communication scholars have published two edited books on volunteerism (Kramer, Lewis, & Gossett, 2013; Kramer, Lewis, & Gossett, 2014) that cover a wide range of communication and volunteerism topics such as technology and volunteering (Maugh, 2013), international volunteering (McNamee, Peterson, & Gould, 2014), and mandatory volunteer work (Botero, Fediuk, & Sias, 2013). The resulting work from Lewis' (2005) initial research agenda has given the communication field a strong record of research on volunteerism. Lewis' research is only one part of the recent growth on volunteerism, demonstrating that these organizations are unique sites to further develop communication theory.

THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO VOLUNTEER WORK

At first glance, studying volunteer work may appear to be similar to that of studying for-profit work in organizations. However, communication scholars view volunteer membership as something conceptually distinct from traditional employment (Kramer, 2011; Lewis, 2005). Volunteering is considered to be an "alternative" work arrangement alongside part-time and seasonal work commitments and is therefore viewed differently from fulltime employment (Ashcraft & Kedrowicz, 2002). Scholars have argued that volunteers are distinct from other organization-member relationships by definition. Generally, scholars define volunteers as (a) performing work of their own free

will, (b) receiving no financial benefit for their work, and (c) working to benefit other people (Handy et al., 2000; Lewis, 2012). Although these aspects of volunteer work are not exhaustive, they highlight some important differences between volunteers and other types of organizational membership. Given the difference between volunteering and other types of work, scholars often use multiple theoretical lenses to address communicative complexity of membership in non-profit organizations (Adams, Schlueter, & Barge, 1988; Kramer, Meisenbach, Hansen, 2013; McNamee & Peterson, 2014). As such, the present study uses three theoretical perspectives to guide and frame the present study: psychological contract, motivation theories, and identification theories.

Exploring the Psychological Contract of Volunteers

Research on the *psychological contract* helps scholars to understand the unique membership of volunteers (Rousseau, 1990; Rousseau, 1995). The 'psychological contract' refers to the expectations an organization places on its members as well as the expectations the members have of the organization (Rousseau, 1990). The psychological contract between a non-profit organization and a volunteer is different from that between a for-profit organizational member and a paid employee. Paid employees expect compensation for their work and may also expect benefits like health insurance, retirement, and opportunities for promotion or advancement. In non-profit organizations, volunteers' expectations center more around the intangible benefits a non-profit organization offers to volunteers (Kramer, 2011; Kramer, Meisenbach, & Hansen, 2013). In other words, the psychological contract volunteers have with an organization center more on the volunteers' ability to provide a benefit to society through their work.

Consequently, these individuals have very different expectations of their work compared to the transactional quid pro quo work for paid employees.

The literature on the psychological contract addresses how the organizational-member interaction is different for volunteers because of the very nature of what it means to volunteer. Kramer (2011) argues that a volunteer's psychological contract alters the way organizations socialize and assimilate volunteers, and Farmer and Fedor (1999) highlight the perceptive nature of psychological contracts and show how these contracts may be different for each member of an organization. In later research, Kramer, Meisenbach, and Hansen (2013) use the psychological contract to argue that these intangible agreements are responsible for creating more or less uncertainty among volunteer members. In general, scholars use the psychological contract to demonstrate that volunteering is something *different* for volunteers and that the consequences of a volunteer contract should be explored through research (Kramer, Meisenbach, & Hansen, 2013; Lewis, 2013; Netting, Nelson, Borders & Huber, 2004). The present study also acknowledges that these contracts may influence the organization-member bond, but also addresses the individual differences in these contracts based on the motivations of individual volunteers.

Motivational Approach to Volunteering

The second theoretical approach to volunteering uncovers the various motivations that compel individuals to engage in volunteer work. Given that volunteers do not receive a tangible, financial reward for their work, their motivations are more difficult to identify than those of paid employees (Dwyer, Bono, Snyder, Nov, & Berson, 2013). For

example, individuals may be motivated to volunteer by certain events (e.g., film festival; Lewis, 2005) or by the prospect of providing a benefit to the larger community (Omoto & Snyder, 1990). Volunteers have also been known to volunteer to enhance social networks (Clary & Snyder, 1991), and in some cases expand potential dating networks (Wilson, 2000). Scholars have also looked at how the expectations of others (Grube & Piliavin, 2000) and the influence of leadership (Adams, et al., 1988; Dwyer et al., 2013) affect volunteer motivation. Since volunteers select and work for organizations purely of "their own free will" (Lewis, 2013), studying why individuals chose to volunteer offers insight into the unique organizing behavior of volunteers.

The motivational approach to volunteering lends itself to the functional approach to volunteer work (Clary & Snyder, 1991). The functional approach assumes that volunteers will be motivated to volunteer as long as they are able to satisfy their motivation through their volunteer work. According to the functional approach, volunteers will internalize a particular motivation or desire and then seek an organization in which this motivation can be satisfied. If the volunteer work does not satisfy his or her need or desire, then it is likely that the volunteer will lose his or her motivation to volunteer (Clary et al., 1998; Ryan & Deci, 2000). Clary and Snyder (1991) acknowledged and theorized that individuals will have different motivations for volunteering. The research on volunteer motivation identifies six motivations to volunteer: (a) to express values, (b) membership in a social group, (c) protection from guilt associated with being more fortunate than others, (d) search for understanding, (e) obtain career benefits, and, (f) feelings of self-enhancement (Clary et al., 1998).

The motivational approach to volunteering suggests that the various motivations for volunteer work are different from the motivations for paid employment and that these motivations influence volunteer organizing processes. The motivational approach helps scholars to recognize that each volunteer has varying motivations and that these motivations impact how volunteers operate in and bond with non-profit organizations (Scott & Stephens, 2009; Tornes & Kramer, 2015). To better understand the bond between volunteers and non-profit organizations, however, it is necessary to look at the ways identification shapes individual motivations for volunteering.

Identification and Volunteer Work

Scholars have looked at volunteerism through the lens of identification with organizations (Ashcraft & Kedrowicz, 2002; Hustinx & Handy, 2009; Iverson, 2013; McNamee & Peterson, 2013; Scott & Stephens, 2009; Steimel, 2013; Tornes & Kramer, 2015). The interest in studying volunteers through identification stems from the role volunteering has in an individual's life. Ashcraft and Kedrowicz (2002) studied volunteers and found that volunteers constructed their volunteer identities as distinct from their work and personal lives. The authors found that for the volunteers, their work was a "third category of life experience" that occurred in a "third kind of place/space" (p. 96). The third space/place research demonstrates that volunteering is uniquely different in comparison to paid employment, and the research also indicates that there are nuanced complexities of volunteer identification.

Although there are various terms that are used to define and describe research on identity and organizations—such as social identity theory (Tafjel & Turner, 1986),

identity work (Knapp, Smith, Kreiner, Sundaramurthy, & Barton, 2013), and social identifications (Hogg & Abrams, 1988)—the present study uses *identification* to study how volunteers align their personal identities with their volunteer work. Identification is defined as "the perception of oneness with or belongingness to some human aggregate" (Ashforth & Mael, 1989, p. 135). In addition to acceptance in a group, the group must also accept the individual. "In the absence of inclusion by others, identification amounts, at best, to a form of wishful thinking and, at worst, to a warrant for charges of charlatansim" (Zabusky & Barley, 1997, p. 371). Identification can be viewed as a process where identities are formed (Chaput, Brummans, & Cooren, 2011), negotiated (Scott & Myers, 2010), and even abandoned (Elsbach & Bhattacharya, 2001).

Identification, however, is not only a perceptual, psychological process. Rather, identification is actively produced and reproduced in and through communication (Cheney, 1983b; Scott, 1997; Scott, Corman, & Cheney, 1998). Communication scholars have sought to understand how individuals in organizations communicatively align themselves with the organization. The integration of communication and identification has been primarily examined in three different ways, each of which is relevant to the present study. First, scholars have looked at identification as perceived by the individual (Cho, Ramgolam, Schaefer, & Sandlin, 2011; Kramer, Meisenbach, & Hansen, 2013; Scott & Stephens, 2009; Tornes & Kramer, 2015). In other words, identification is measured as a static construct that influences or is analyzed in conjunction with some other concept. In a recent example, Tornes and Kramer (2015) look at how communication with patrons at a large convention increased volunteers' organizational

communication. As a result of communicative practices, the volunteers were either more or less identified with their work.

The second main cluster of research on communication and identification involves the language and speech that is used to make up or represent an individual's identification. Scholars who utilize a communicative approach to identification have found that using the pronoun "we" is indicative of an individual's alignment with a larger collective (Cheney, 1991). Empirical work has also shown that speaking positively and highly about an organization can be evidence of identification (Kaufman, 1960). DiSanza and Bullis (1999) argue that identification is comprised of "micromoments" (p. 350) and suggest that scholars should study identification by examining the language and communication of organizational members. The second cluster of research on communication and identification shows how, through language, word choice, and conversations, communication represents identification.

The final pocket of research on identification and communication views identification as an ongoing, discursive process that is shaped through individual actions and communication, but is also dependent upon the context or environment in which these interactions occur (Scott et al., 1998). The contextual approach to identification focuses on the symbolic, interpretive, and situational perspective of identification. Being symbolic and active in nature, identification can be meaningfully analyzed as a communicative process. As Scott and colleagues (1998) noted: "The story we tell of ourselves is in interaction (or posit with respect to interaction) with others is the essence of identification" (p. 305). In this way, communication is both the means through which

identifications are produced, and the representation of identification in a social setting (e.g., Scott & Stephens, 2009).

Scholars have labeled the contextualized, interpretive approach to communication and identification differently based upon the use of the theory in research. For example, using Gidden's (1984) structuration theory to explain the recursive relationship of identification and communication, Scott and colleagues (1998) deem the recursive perspective a "structurational approach" to identification (p. 326). Additionally, scholars have used the structurational approach to identification as a means of studying how identification shifts based upon the context or situation. These approaches acknowledge and capture the complexity of identification and communication. In particular, Scott and colleagues (1998) show how looking at identification through structuration theory helps to "link activity to identification and communication. We see identification as somewhat changing and fluid in practice and as having an essential relationship to activity" (p. 326).

The shifting nature of identification means two important foundational aspects for the present study: (a) identification is tied to activity and is thus an active process, and (b) occurs in some situational context. Because identification is an active process, studying identification requires that researchers examine it as it occurs communicatively in action and interaction. Hecht (1993) endorses an interactive approach to identification, concluding that messages in conversation are symbolic and thus, "enactments of identity" (p.78). Other scholars have called for research to examine the "micromoments" of identification (DiSanza & Bullis, 1999, p. 350). These micromoments reveal, in

conversation and interaction, the identification processes of how individuals align themselves with various aspects of the organization.

The shifting nature of identification helps to explain how identification can move from one identification "target" to another target. Scott and Stephens' (2009) work captures how individuals change their identification based on whom they were talking to at a certain moment in time. Just as identifications can shift, individuals can also maintain multiple identifications. Scholars have looked at these multiple identifications and particularly focused on individuals' selection or preferred identification with competing targets and how to negotiate these identifications (Cheney, 1991; Kuhn & Nelson, 2002; Larson & Pepper, 2003; Scott, 1997; Scott et al., 1999). For example, multiple projects have found that localized groups and teams internal to organizations garner stronger identification than the organization itself (Kuhn & Nelson, 2002; Lammers, Atouba, & Carlson, 2013; Scott, 1997). Communication scholars find a complex but compelling opportunity to better understand communication and interaction in studying the existence, negotiation of, and simultaneous construction of multiple identifications

The research on communication and identification shows the importance of studying identification *in situ*. Despite previous research on volunteer identification and communication, the present study adds value to the literature by extending theory around volunteer membership and identification. In particular, I expound upon three areas of contribution from the present study.

EXTENDING THEORY ON IDENTIFICATION AND COMMUNICATION IN NON-PROFIT ORGANIZATIONS

The present study seeks to advance scholarship on volunteer membership and identification by investigating the ways in which volunteers construct identifications in communication with multiple organizational targets and how they utilize these identifications to overcome challenging work contexts. The findings from this study advance scholarship on identification by: (a) positioning *work* as a central component of the identification process, (b) focusing on identification targets other than organizational identification, and (c) questioning the *desirability* of identification altogether.

Focusing on the Work

The symbolic and interpretive nature of identification often produces research that focuses on reflective statements about identity or an individual's experience. While reflective communication is still valuable in understanding how individuals perceive their identities (Scott et al., 1998), the enacted identities are often understudied. For example, much of the empirical research on identification uses data from interviews, archival sources, or survey methodology to support the findings and implications for the research (e.g., Bullis & Bach, 1989; Carmeli, Gilat, & Waldman, 2007; Cho, et al., 2011; Dailey, Treem & Ford, in press; Dukerich, Golden, & Shortell, 2002; Garner & Garner, 2011; Kramer, 2011; Kramer, Meisenbach, & Hansen, 2013; McNamee & Peterson, 2014; Scott & Stephens, 2009; Stephens & Dailey, 2012). While these studies are instrumental in identifying the relationship between identification and communicative behaviors, there is

little or no focus on the *enactment* of identification through work (see Ashraft, 2007; Hull & Zacher, 2007; Kuhn & Nelson, 2002; Lammers et al., 2013 for notable exceptions).

The benefit of using interview data is that researchers are able to uncover nuanced details about the participant's perception of their identification. As participants retell stories and personal asides that help to articulate their identification, the researcher gains important insight into their experiences. Additionally, the interview itself provides an opportunity for participants to actively reinforce their identification (Scott et al., 1998). The present study uses interviews for precisely these reasons.

The present study seeks to extend beyond the reflective aspect of identity formation and instead research how individuals actively construct identifications in and through their work. It is important to examine the work of the volunteers when studying identification because the context of working in a non-profit organization volunteers are working for some benefit to the community or larger society (Lewis, 2013; Musick & Wilson, 2008). The benefit of volunteering is often associated with the organization's goal and is explicitly stated in the organization's mission (Fairhurst, Jordan, & Neuwirth, 1997; Lewis, 2005). Thus, the work that the volunteers have actively chosen to perform represents their identity in some capacity. More specifically, by studying the work of volunteers, scholars are able to see how identifications and identities "take shape" (Ashcraft, 2007, p. 9). The work provides an opportunity to examine the recursive interplay between how identification shapes work and how work, in turn, shapes identification (Scott et al., 1998). Without targeted data investigating the detailed nature of the work, it would be difficult to make any claims on the actual, realized consequences

of communicatively constructed identifications on work. Barley and Kunda (2001) warn scholars of "overstating" (p. 77) theoretical ideas and claim that, "contemporary organization theory's tendency to distance itself from a detailed understanding of work and how it may be changing" (p. 79). The present study contributes to the literature on identification and organizing by examining the ties between the work of volunteers and their claims concerning identification.

The volunteer aspect of the present study also contributes to theory by examining work in an alternative context. Although some studies have investigated identification through volunteer work (e.g., Kramer, Meisenbach, & Hansen, 2013; Scott & Stephens, 2009), most of the identification literature has been historically composed through for-profit, paid employment settings (Carmeli et al., 2007; Cheney 1983a; Kuhn & Nelson, 2002; Lammers et al., 2013; Pratt, 2000; Scott, 1997). There is a need for scholarship to examine the work surrounding organizational members and how their work signifies and enacts communicatively constructed identifications. In a similar vein, the present study contributes to the literature on identification by focusing on the ways in which multiple identifications are constructed, negotiated, and managed by volunteers.

Examining Multiple Identifications

The present study also contributes to the existing literature by providing ethnographic work that explores the construction of multiple identifications. The multiplicity of identification refers to an individual's ability and tendency to identify with more than one aspect of an organization. For example, individuals may identify with their team *and* their organization, but the identification varies in intensity (Lammers et al.,

2013). In general, research continues to focus on organizational identification as the main focus of identification among organizational members (e.g., Chreim, 2002; Dukerich et al., 2002; Knapp et al., 2013; Tornes & Kramer, 2015), but there is strong evidence to suggest that the presence of multiple identifications influences and impacts organizational identification (Larson & Pepper, 2003; Kuhn & Nelson, 2002). The present study contributes to the organizational literature on identification by studying identification in a context where multiple identifications are likely to be present, possibly conflicting with each other, and are made evident through volunteers' work.

The idea of multiple identifications presumes that individuals construct identifications with multiple identification "targets" (Scott, 1997; Scott & Stephens, 2009). The targets of identification refer to those "elements of the social scene" (Cheney, 1983b, p. 342) with which volunteers align their personal identity. The range of potential identification foci is often lengthy when considered in the literature, but few studies identify and inspect these various targets. For example, in a seminal piece by Scott and colleagues (1998), the authors acknowledge that individuals can identify at the group, organizational, occupational, or personal level of the organization. In a prior work, Scott (1997) mentions that organizational members can identify with "occupations/professions, individuals/persons, work positions, reference groups, task groups, subgroups, task, department, hierarchy level, work, and individual colleagues" (p. 496). More recently, Scott and Stephens (2009) provide empirical evidence that volunteers identify with different targets of identification based upon whom they are talking to. The existence of

multiple identifications is foundational to understanding the impact of multiple identifications on organizational members.

The selection of a non-profit organization as the site of this study provides an appropriate context where organizational members may manage multiplex identifications. The literature on third place/space suggests that volunteers separate their volunteer identity from competing identities outside of volunteering, such as personal identity and professional identity (Ashcraft & Kedrowicz, 2002; Ashforth, Kreiner, & Fugate, 2000). Accordingly, the literature shows how a volunteer identity is something that exists alongside other identities. In addition to volunteering being a "third" identity, non-profit organizations afford volunteers opportunities to identify with targets that are unique to non-profit organizations.

The non-profit setting possesses a number of potential identification targets. Since volunteer organizations are challenged to enable, or empower volunteers (Ashcraft & Kedrowicz, 2002), volunteer managers often institute a decentralized management structure. The decentralization of decision-making and task groups allows volunteers to align themselves with the smaller groups instead of the organization at large (Lammers et al., 2013). Additionally, the overall mission of the organization provides another potential identification target for the volunteers. On the importance of the mission in non-profit organization, Lewis (2005) said, "Mission is at the heart of the organization's identity and has great implications for managerial behavior and organizational performance, and perceptions of NPO [non-profit organization] effectiveness" (p. 251). The influence of

the mission on management and volunteers could present an additional target of identification.

The present study seeks to contribute to identification scholarship by moving away from studies that focus on the presence or absence of organizational identification. Instead, by examining multiple identifications in a context where identification targets are widespread, the present study demonstrates how volunteers manage and enact multiple identifications in and through their work.

Desirability of Volunteer Identification

The third and final contribution to theory in this study is centered on the benefits of identification. Scholarship has shown time and again that in most contexts, members who identify with the organization also report higher levels of organizational commitment (Riketta, 2005), job satisfaction (van Knippenberg & van Schie, 2000), and job motivation (van Knippenberg, 2000). These benefits are not only beneficial to the individual, but they also help organizations to have highly identified members. As a result, organizations should want members who identify highly with the organization and members should want to identify with the organization.

However, additional research studies suggest that identification might not always be desirable. Gossett's (2002) study found that temporary workers sought to keep a distance from the organization by removing themselves from decision-making opportunities and additional social interaction. While the organization placed these workers in a role that tied them to the organization, they actively chose to stay out of certain organizational issues. The central finding of Gossett's (2002) study suggests that

some organizational members may not benefit from, or even desire to, identify with the organization of which they are members. While not wanting to identify with an organization seems counterintuitive, there are other explanations as to why certain members distance themselves from the organizations in which they are involved.

The focus of identification research assumes largely that identification is a desired attribute of organizational members. Yet research also shows that not all members identify fully with the organization they work for and that creating distance is beneficial for the organization and for the individual. For example, organizational members in a communication firm used cynicism as a form of identity-based resistance that "afforded them [members] an element of dignity in a rather condescending environment" (Fleming, 2005, p. 60). Communication in the form of cynicism served as a way for members to preserve their desired identities, which were contrary to the organizational environment. Similarly, studies on professional and organizational identities have shown how organizational members construct identifications in the periphery of the organization so that they can maintain a strong professional identity (Zabusky & Barley, 1997).

These studies are incredibly valuable in showing the diverse range of identification within the context of organizational membership. Rather than assuming volunteers who do not identify with the organization have weak identities, scholars should investigate other explanations for the phenomena experienced by these organizational members. Still, there is a need to address whether identification should be placed at the center of organizational desirability, since few studies question identification's effectiveness (see exception, Gossett, 2002). There may be contexts

where organizations may operate best if there are a limited number of highly identified workers in the organization. The present study questions the desirability of identification by investigating the ways volunteers communicatively construct various identifications. As a result, this study reveals the functionality of a wide spectrum of identifications in challenging work environments, with wide-ranging applications for volunteers and non-profit organizations.

PREVIEW OF DISSERTATION

The present study seeks to contribute to scholarship on identification and communication by focusing on the work of organizational members, inspecting the negotiation of multiple identifications, and questioning the desirability of identification for members and organizations.

To accomplish this goal, this dissertation presents data from a nine-month study of the work of volunteers at a large animal shelter named Saving Pets Daily (SPD). The structure of the remainder of the dissertation is organized around specific research questions that are presented in each chapter. The research questions build upon one another in a logical progression that seeks to fulfill the contributions exhibited above.

Chapter 2 describes the data collection process, my methodological approach, and analytical strategies for examining volunteer identification and communication. Chapter 2 also describes the research site and presents a detailed account of the physical location of the animal shelter. I provide information regarding the participants in the study and outline the various volunteer and employee roles at SPD. After discussing the site and sample, I explain how I set up the data collection procedures, collected the data, and then

analyzed the data to investigate the volunteers' identification through their speech and enacted behavior.

Chapter 3 is the first of four findings chapters in this dissertation. The findings in Chapter 3 emerged from my initial analysis of the identification of volunteers at an animal shelter. Specifically, I use data from interviews and observational notes to identify ways in which volunteers align themselves with various identification foci at the animal shelter. I also analyzed the data to find the different targets of identification that emerged from the volunteers' communication in interviews and interaction with others. The results show that volunteers construct multiple identifications through various communicative moves and negotiate these identifications in and through enacted work.

Chapter 4 introduces findings that show how the volunteers communicatively constructed identifications in opposition to the organization while working at the animal shelter. The volunteers used different methods of distancing communication to position their identities away from various identification targets. The results of my analysis build on the findings from Chapter 3 and introduce potential ways in which volunteers negotiate and manage complex identifications in and through communication.

Chapter 5 focuses on the undesirable, hands-on work the volunteers complete at SPD. The volunteers construct identifications, in part, so that they might overcome some of the challenging work at the animal shelter. The 'dirty work' (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999) component of an animal shelter emerged as an important theme in the data. The analysis shows how a volunteer's identification, and disidentification, is tied to the volunteer's ability to endure the dirty work at SPD. The findings highlight the link

between identification and dirty work and show how the work acts as a text for understanding enacted identification.

The final findings section, Chapter 6, examines the organization rather than the volunteers. In this chapter, I question the desirability of identification for the organization. Using observational data and interview data with employees, I examine messages the organization uses to guide the identification processes of volunteers. The results of Chapter 6 show that the organization desires identified volunteers—up to a certain point. The implications of volunteer voice and organizational control are discussed from the perspective of the organization.

Lastly, in Chapter 7 I discuss the implications of these findings on future empirical work. I discuss the complexities of multiple identifications on the part of the volunteers and the consequences of these identifications on their work. I close the dissertation by showing how the present study questions some of the ways in which communication scholarship considers communication and identification. I discuss the practical implications of the present research for individuals tasked with managing non-profit organizations and their volunteers. Finally, I conclude with a research agenda for future studies investigating how communication constructs identification.

CHAPTER 2: RESEARCH SITE AND METHODS

I utilized a qualitative approach to study the communicative processes of volunteer identification and disidentification at Saving Pets Daily (SPD; pseudonym); a non-profit animal shelter located in a large city, Metropolis (pseudonym) in the Southern U.S. SPD relies on volunteers for approximately 50 percent of its "staffed" positions and has more than 800 volunteers currently on record as volunteers at the shelter. In addition to its size and reliance upon volunteers, SPD also has different programs that allowed me to interact with and see the volunteers as they worked at the organization. The active work environment provided an ideal setting to study communication and volunteer identification and disidentification by investigating the communication and work practices of the volunteers. Non-profit organizations are intriguing sites to study identification because individuals join these organizations for various reasons (Clary & Snyder, 1991) and there are a wide variety of different work roles that elucidate how work might influence identification and vice versa. Using an iterative analytic process derived from grounded theory methods (Glaser, 1978; Strauss & Corbin, 1998), I sought to understand how volunteers communicated their disidentification and how these disidentifications influenced their volunteer work. By using interview research methods along with observational data collection, I was able to capture organizational and individual influences on volunteer disidentification over a period of time, from June 2014 to December 2015.

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the research site for this dissertation and to define the methods I utilized to gather and analyze the data. First, I describe the

research site from an organizational and physical standpoint. Then, I discuss the process of accessing the site, participants, and my role in the data collection. I conclude this chapter by articulating the methods I used to collect and analyze my data.

RESEARCHING IDENTIFICATION AT SAVING PETS DAILY

SPD is an animal shelter located in central area of a large city (Metropolis; pseudonym) in the Southern U.S. SPD began as a response to an increase in the number of stray animals being euthanized in Metropolis in the mid to late 2000s. A local veterinarian saw that animal saving programs—such as treating ringworm in cats—would be able to help save large numbers of animals and she started to initiate some of these programs in order to save more animals. While most animal shelters provide a place for animals to be taken in and eventually adopted, SPD primarily takes in animals that are placed on Metropolis' euthanasia list. In other words, SPD is the last chance for stray or abandoned animals to be saved and ultimately adopted.

SPD consists of traditional programs that are standard at any animal shelter. The organization provides housing, food, and basic medical care for stray cats and dogs. Additionally, SPD manages the placement of dogs and cats in foster homes where they will go to so that they can be in a home and not at a shelter. The animals at the shelter are given basic care so that they maintain good health and are adopted in the future. For example, the dogs are taken out of their kennels at least twice a day, and some dogs participate in a "play group" in which they can run around and interact with other dogs. Volunteers and employees clean the cats' kennels regularly and pet the cats. As a 501(c)(3) non-profit organization, SPD also devotes resources and employees to raise

money, participate in fundraising events, and collect donations from the public. Lastly, SPD has programs specifically focused on marketing the cats and dogs for adoption. SPD uses volunteers to take photographs and videos, and to write descriptions of the animals to try to get the dogs adopted as quickly as possible. Volunteers do most of the marketing work from home. While these programs are standard for animal shelters, SPD provides programs for terminally sick animals and dangerous animals to help to save those animals that other shelters would euthanize.

SPD uses programs that few other shelters have nationally. For example, SPD has a program called the "Kitten Nursery" in which more than 1,500 kittens are fed and taken care of every year. In the kitten nursery program, employees and volunteers must organize to feed kittens, weigh them, provide any medical attention, and then get them adopted or into foster homes. The kittens have to be fed and weighed every couple of hours to maintain their health and stay alive. For this particular program, volunteers and employees must feed the kittens every couple of hours from 6 a.m. until 3 a.m. the next morning. Most shelters do not even take in kittens that are so young and dependent upon 24-hour care. Similarly, SPD has a program that works with puppies to remove "parvo," a common virus. The program has saved 100 percent of the puppies with parvo in the last three years. Traditional shelters and the city shelter normally euthanize any puppy that enters the shelter with parvo. These innovative programs are largely made possible by volunteers and help to serve the overall mission of SPD.

The Mission of SPD

The stated mission on SPD's website and logo refers to giving the Metropolis the opportunity to help discarded animals. However, the original intent of the organization upon its inception in 2008 was to make Metropolis a "no-kill" city. The term no-kill refers to the animal save rate in a region or city. If a city is able to save more than 90 percent of the animals taken into its shelters, then that city is said to be a no-kill city. The no-kill initiative is primarily attributed to Rich Avanzino who worked for the Society of the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (SPCA) in San Francisco. Avanzino worked closely with the city of San Francisco to adopt new ways of dealing with animal control issues and overpopulation from the late1970s through the 1990s (Waggoner, 1999). Nathan Winograd, who also worked at the San Francisco SPCA, created the No Kill Advocacy Center in the 2004 and defined no-kill as a shelter that kills only 10% of their animals and does so for extreme health or behavior issues (Winograd, 2009). Around the same time, a group of animal welfare advocates—including Avanzino—gathered in California to define when euthanasia was the appropriate response of animal shelters (Armstrong et al., 2004). According to the No Kill Advocacy Center website, Winograd set the goal of a 90% save rate in 2005 (Winograd, 2009). The no-kill movement continued across the country as many shelters sought to attain no-kill status according to the principles set forth by Winograd and the No Kill Advocacy Center. Since then, organizations such as SPD have gathered for conferences and shared resources, advice, and information to assist in the no-kill movement.

When SPD started in 2008, the save rate in Metropolis, as a city, was about 50 percent. This means that, as a city, about half of the animals that could be saved in Metropolis were either dying of disease or being euthanized due to a lack of foster or shelter space. The founder of SPD, saw the possibility of programs to help increase the save rate and started SPD with the goal to make Metropolis a no-kill city.

SPD initiated a strategy to help accomplish the goal of making Metropolis a no-kill city. Instead of merely trying to spay and neuter more animals, SPD began to save animals with minor illness through physical treatment. Additionally, SPD found that a large number of animals were being euthanized because they were too young to give the care needed for them to survive. In conjunction with spay and neuter tactics, SPD started the kitten nursery program, parvo clinic for dogs, and the ringworm cat ward. Through these programs and others, SPD started saving more animals and the "kill" rate in Metropolis started to decline rapidly.

After three years of SPD's programs, SPD reached its goal of making Metropolis a no-kill city. In an effort to re-calibrate the mission of SPD, the executive director states on an orientation video, "In 2011, we achieved this goal [make Metropolis no-kill] and now the mission of SPD is to keep it that way [no-kill]." In fact, the success of SPD helped Metropolis earn the moniker of being the, "largest no-kill city in the country." The no-kill goal is something that volunteers could identify with and something that extends beyond just the organization itself. Since the no-kill mission involved other animal shelters and individual adopters in Metropolis, SPD became a part of the local community in Metropolis.

SPD and Community

The nature of the mission at SPD shows how the organization relies on the community's assistance to achieve their goals. Animals cannot be saved if there are not any foster homes for animals to live in. Therefore, SPD is a well-known brand among local residents and has an effective public presence in its large metropolitan area. For example, a mobile adoption "truck" is set up on one of the busiest, tourist areas of the city. The street is lined with restaurants, boutique shops, and small hotels, but at one intersection, SPD holds an adoption event in an effort to ensure puppies are adopted. Local members of the community and tourists visiting Metropolis come by and interact with the puppies all the while learning more about SPD.

Additionally, SPD works with local businesses to create awareness about SPD and potentially generate financial gifts. SPD regularly conducts organizational branding exchanges where a business will invite SPD to come and be present for an event, providing SPD a financial gift for attending. The benefit to the business is more community awareness and more people attending the event. For example, SPD recently worked out an arrangement with a local brewery. The brewery named a beer after SPD and then had a large party for the release of the beer. The event benefits SPD by having more awareness in the public, but it also benefits the brewery by bringing more people to the brewery. Since the community has developed a relationship with SPD, more people show up if SPD is part of the event or business. The community relations employee at SPD said that it participates in more than 120 third-party events per year.

The organization as a whole has a clear goal of keeping Metropolis no-kill. The ability to maintain this status is contingent upon the work of the employees, the resources available, and the extensive volunteer work that occurs at SPD. In the next section, I introduce the way in which I accessed the volunteers that participated in this study. Access to SPD came with some challenges, but it allowed me to observe and talk with volunteers in a variety of capacities. After describing my process of accessing the site, I introduce the participants and describe the volunteer work they do at SPD.

Gaining Access to SPD

The initial research at SPD started in the spring of 2014. I came to SPD to look into volunteering to walk dogs. I started in the spring, attended the volunteer orientation, and walked dogs when I was in town that summer. Overall, I logged approximately 5-10 hours of time spent walking dogs and otherwise on-site at SPD. During my brief time volunteering at SPD, I noticed a few areas of interest that piqued my attention as a researcher. First, the organization functioned heavily on volunteers. If all of the volunteers failed to show up one day, the organization would most likely sputter to a halt. The prevalence of volunteers and their involvement in the active work at SPD interested me.

Secondly, SPD had a clear, identifiable mission to keep Metropolis a no-kill city. I was intrigued at the influence of the no-kill movement on the daily work of the volunteers. Do they think about the mission much? Does it motivate or inspire them to do their work? I thought the no-kill mission added a dimension to the volunteer work that was interesting from a communicative and identification perspective.

Lastly, I saw that I would be able to access some volunteers while they were actively doing their work. Since this dissertation is concerned with identification and the work of volunteers, I needed to find a site where I could observe and interact with volunteers as they worked. After deciding that SPD would also be an appropriate site for my dissertation research, I initiated a conversation with the volunteer coordinator. The volunteer coordinator, Blanche, met with me to discuss potential ways of aligning my research interests with a project that could help SPD's volunteer processes. Blanche was having a difficult time retaining volunteers and also recently implemented a new online system to keep track of volunteer hours that was not as effective as she originally envisioned.

Blanche is voluntarily the volunteer coordinator at SPD. It is common at SPD to have volunteers in leadership positions alongside paid employees. Blanche, however, was in a unique position in that she was also on the Board of Directors for SPD. After meeting with Blanche, she shared more information about how the volunteer system worked at SPD and what concerns SPD had about the volunteers. As I told Blanche about my project, she became interested in getting some help in understanding what the volunteers might need and how communication influences volunteer satisfaction and experience.

As a result of the initial needs and combined interests between my research and SPD, I decided to perform a communication audit (Downs, 1988) of the volunteer communication at SPD in the Fall 2014. I measured and analyzed data from more than 130 volunteers and found that volunteers were overall satisfied with the communication at SPD, but that certain communication channels, such as e-mail, were correlated with

lower levels of communication satisfaction and identification. After reporting these findings to Blanche, I asked her if I could collect more qualitative data to better understand some of the causes of lower levels of identification among the volunteers. Blanche was open to allowing me collect interviews and observations at SPD.

During the spring of 2015, I had collected a few hours of observational data and a few interviews, but I found out that Blanche's position was going to be eliminated and replaced with a paid staffer member. SPD hired a woman named Lois to become a paid Volunteer Coordinator who managed the communication between the organization and the volunteers. When I heard about the hiring, I reached out to Lois and made sure that my research on volunteer communication would still be valuable to the organization. In my meeting with Lois, we discussed what some of the recruitment methods would look like. We established the context for my recruitment of volunteers, and Lois approved the preliminary interview schedule.

Since I had spent some time as a volunteer before conducting any research with Blanche and SPD, I immediately had some credibility among the volunteers. I found that it was important to talk about my experience volunteering before I started the project. I also used my interaction and connection with Lois to set up appointments with volunteers that made clear that I was not acting on my own and that my intention was to conduct research that would be of some benefit to SPD.

VOLUNTEER RECRUITMENT AND PARTICIPANTS

The volunteer participants were recruited through two different methods. First, I used my meeting with Lois as a starting place for the interviews. I asked Lois to email

volunteers that she thought would be interested in talking with me. Instead of making Lois send out an email, I drafted a short paragraph that briefly summarized my rationale for the study and what the interview would entail. Lois placed my paragraph in an email and sent the email out to all of the team leaders at SPD. Lois sent the email to about 12-15 volunteers in total on July 6, 2015. I was not copied on that email but Lois emailed me a few days later, saying that four volunteers were interested in speaking with me. Lois copied the volunteers' email addresses in an email to me, and I then contacted the four volunteers via email.

In my email, I described that I would be interested in understanding the volunteer experience at SPD and that my research would help SPD have more efficient and effective communication with volunteers. Then, I offered to shadow the volunteers as they worked. I wanted to do this for a couple of reasons: (a) I wanted to respect the time of the volunteers and not add any additional time to their volunteer work, and (b) I wanted to see how the volunteers worked and what they did on a regular basis.

I emailed the original four volunteers and they responded quickly and let me know when they would be available to meet for an interview. After recruiting the initial four volunteers, I primarily used a snowball sample to talk to more participants. At the end of each interview, I asked the participant, "Are there any other volunteers who I could contact who might be interested in talking with me?" The snowball sample provided a steady flow of interviewees over the span of a couple of months.

As I asked volunteers who else I should interview, they started to repeat the same names, and I would seemingly reach the end of their network of contacts affiliated with

SPD, in which case I resorted to two additional methods to recruit volunteers. First, I contacted Lois again to see if anyone else wanted to participate in the research. I used Lois as much as possible to try to reach out to volunteers. For example, after my first month of collecting data, I reached a standstill in recruitment. As a result, I asked Lois to send a broader recruitment message through the SPD Volunteer Facebook Group that has more than 400 members. Of the 400 members on Facebook, I received two (2) emails from volunteers who were interested in participating in the study. I reached out to them via Facebook and established a time to meet with them.

Secondly, whenever I exhausted an individuals' network, I approached volunteers while they were working at SPD. In these scenarios, I walked up to a volunteer who was either walking a dog or doing laundry and introduce myself and ask them if I could shadow them and interview them. If the volunteers were unable to talk at that specific moment—because they were leaving soon or were unable to both talk and work—I would write down their email address and then email them to try to set up a time when I could interview them.

In sum, I interviewed 37 volunteers who participated in a variety of different capacities at SPD. As mentioned before, the volunteer activities at SPD varied greatly from marketing cats on the SPD website to walking dogs. The different activities are assigned to volunteers who are then organized into teams; each team has a team leader who is usually a volunteer. For example, all of the volunteers who walk dogs are in a team that is coordinated by the dog walking lead, Marta. Marta is responsible for recruiting volunteers to walk dogs and communicating with the dog walkers any time

there is new information that they need to know regarding their work. The team approach to the volunteer management reflected a decentralized approach to managing volunteers. Most of the teams operate in a similar way and primarily utilized email and Facebook groups to communicate and interact with one another. Some teams, such as the adoption match team, meet in person once every couple of months to communicate and plan.

The volunteers in this study were primarily female (76%), but the volunteers varied greatly by age, tenure, and role at the organization. For example, the ages of the volunteers contained a variety of different age groups. I interviewed 14 volunteers who were between the ages of 25 and 32, but I also interviewed eight individuals who were over the age of 55. Additionally, the majority of the volunteers in the sample have volunteered less than three years (70%). The volunteers were also involved in full-time work outside of volunteering (56%). The demographic data gives a better idea of the makeup of the volunteers. (To see a complete breakdown of the demographic data of the volunteers, see Table 2.1.)

VOLUNTEER TEAMS AT SPD

The volunteers worked in teams, but were not limited to working on one volunteer team. In fact, one volunteer, Krista, was essentially on three different teams. Table 2.2 shows the different teams that the volunteers were a part of when I interviewed them. The sum of the number of volunteers is greater than 37 to reflect that some of the volunteers worked for multiple teams on a regular basis. The teams held different responsibilities, but the volunteer participants can be organized into three large groups (a) dog program volunteers, (b) cat program volunteers, and (c) non-animal interaction volunteers.

Dog program

The dog program at SPD consists of volunteer opportunities to assist in the maintenance, training, and enrichment of the dogs staying at SPD. Ultimately, SPD wants each and every dog to be adopted into new homes, but this goal is complicated by adopter expectations, dog preparedness, and fit between the owner and animal. In order to ensure that the dogs are adoptable at SPD, the volunteers and employees have programs that help dogs become more adoptable. Since most of the adoptions occur on site at SPD, it is important for the dogs at SPD to be well-behaved animals. SPD has a behavior team led by the Dog Behavior Manager, Levi. Levi is responsible for training the dogs so that they not only know basic commands, but that they will be social with other dogs, and safe around people. Levi oversees the Dog Behavior Program, which consists of employees and volunteers whose work centers on improving the behavior of the dogs.

Table 2.1 Demographic Information of Volunteer Interview Participants

Demographic	Frequency	Percentage
Biological Sex		
Male	9	24%
Female	28	76%
Age		
18-24	4	11%
25-34	14	38%
35-44	6	16%
44-54	5	14%
55-64	6	16%
Over 65	2	5%
Primary Volunteer Role		
Dog walkers	20	54%
Kitten feeders	2	5%
Cat photographers	1	3%
Cattery volunteers	2	5%
Adoption matchers	2	5%
Dog walking mentors	3	8%
Dog behavior team	2	5%
Volunteer committee	3	8%
Development	1	3%
Potential volunteer	1	3%
Length of Volunteering		
Under 1 year	10	27%
1-2 years	8	22%
2-3 years	8	22%
3-4 years	6	16%
4-5 years	4	10%
5+ years	1	3%
Professional Work/Status*		
Full-time employment	19	56%
Part-time employment	2	6%
Retired	12	35%
Unemployed	1	3

*Three volunteers did not clarify their professional work status.

Dog behavior team. Volunteers in the Dog Behavior Program assist in training other volunteers in how to work with the dogs to provide consistent handling and commands. To be a member of this team, volunteers must receive all of the training that Levi offers. The training comes through hands-on behavior classes and also depends upon the number of hours volunteers have spent walking dogs. After fifteen hours of walking dogs, volunteers can then take a course in which they learn how to walk dogs that are extremely stressed in the kennel or afraid to come out. The training for the scared and stressed dogs is led entirely by a volunteer. Next, after walking dogs for another twenty hours, volunteers can take a training course to prepare them to walk "jumpy and mouthy" dogs. The training for the jumpy dogs lasts five weeks in a row and each volunteer must attend all five sessions in a row. Lastly, volunteers can take another five-week class to teach them how to train and work with dogs that have a specific issue such as resource guarding. Volunteers must attend six classes in a row, and they are evaluated based upon their ability to lead the dog.

The volunteers for the behavior team are considered behavior experts and are used to assist Levi and the paid behavior staff to evaluate the dogs and the dog walkers. For example, Krista, leads the Level 3 training class for the scared and stressed dogs. Additionally, one of the behavior volunteers is responsible for talking with potential adopters about specific dogs while the dogs are playing during their time in playgroup.

Table 2.2 Volunteer Team Membership

Team	**Number of Interviews**
Kitten Nursery	2
Cat Volunteer	3
Development	1
Dog Behavior	2
Dog Marketing	1
Dog Walking	22
Dog Walking Mentor	3
Adoption Match	3
Team Lead	6
Volunteer Coordination	3
Total	**41***

Note: There were 41 total interviews with volunteers. However,
nine (9) of the volunteers consistently worked in multiple roles as volunteers.

The playgroup is one of the unique programs at SPD. At most animal shelters, the employees are primarily concerned with feeding the animals and trying to get them adopted. The playgroup program helps dogs learn how to interact with other dogs. The trainers and volunteers will evaluate certain dogs that will be eligible to participate in the playgroup. Then, twice a day, the dogs will be allowed to run in the largest pen at the northwest corner of the property. The trainers remain in the pen with the dogs and use training tactics to teach the dogs how to behave with other dogs. The playgroup program is a common dog training technique, but rarely is it used in a shelter environment where

dogs might be more stressed, aggressive, or difficult to predict. The playgroup program is important to help the dogs be adopted into a family that already has dogs.

During my time in the field, I interviewed two female volunteers who worked primarily with the dog behavior program. Both women were in their late 20s or early 30s and had jobs outside of volunteering, but they were highly involved in training volunteers how to train the dogs in the shelter. The dog behavior program is an example of the unique programs at SPD and shows the amount of responsibility given to certain volunteers at SPD.

Dog-walking program. The most prevalent dog program that volunteers participate in at SPD is the dog-walking program. The dog-walking team is responsible for taking the dogs out on a "walk" a minimum of twice a day. I use the term "walk" loosely because most of the dogs are not allowed to leave the main courtyard area. The volunteers who walk dogs are trained to take a dog out of the kennel and bring them to one of the pens on the property of SPD so that the dogs can use the restroom and get some time running around. The dog-walking program is important to the goals of SPD because the enrichment the dogs receive, in theory, reduces the stress on the animals and makes them more presentable in their kennels. Additionally, the earlier the dogs are able to go the bathroom, the less likely it is that they will have gone the bathroom in the kennel. Keeping the kennels clean is important for the presentation of the dogs, but also has an impact on the health of the dogs.

The variability of the dog-walking volunteers represented a diverse sample for this study. While collecting interview data, I was able to talk with 22 volunteers who

walk dogs at SPD, and only four of these participants were male. At the national level, more women volunteered than men in 2014 (27% of women volunteered compared to 21% of men; Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2015) and the dog-walking volunteers at SPD reflected this distinction. The outside, professional work of the volunteers varied as well. Some of the dog walkers had full time jobs and would come before or after work, but others were retired. The ages across the dog walkers varied greatly as well. There were dog walkers who are in their young 20s, while there were some who were in their late 60s and retired. The great variety in age and job statuses provided a good picture of the variety of volunteers at SPD and also a proxy for what is similar among these volunteers.

The process to becoming a dog-walking volunteer is fairly straightforward upon joining the organization. As with any volunteer position at SPD, dog walkers must first attend the general volunteer orientation. Additionally, volunteers must undergo training before walking the dogs at SPD. The rationale for training is rooted in SPD's concern for safety and also its concern for providing the dogs consistency in how they are handled. The dog behavior team evaluates—and continues to evaluate—each dog that enters the shelter. The dog is given a colored collar that matches with its level of evaluation. There are six levels in total, and each increasing level requires some form of additional training. The dogs in the higher levels (e.g., 5-6) are not considered "bad dogs," but they may have a specific issue that the behavior team is working on with that particular dog. Table 2.3 contains a description of the different levels of the dogs and how they are evaluated.

After attending the orientation, volunteers are allowed to come and walk any Level 1 dogs. Level 1 dogs are safe dogs that are already trained and are easy to walk on

a leash. However, throughout my data collection process, I never once saw a Level 1 dog on the property. These dogs are rare because they are usually adopted quickly. In order to walk a Level 2 dog, dog walkers must meet with a dog-walking mentor. To do this, dog-walkers must sign up for an hour and a half time slot where they can shadow a dog-walking mentor.

Table 2.3 Description of Dog Behavior Levels and Volunteer Requirements

	Prerequisites	Training	Program	Commitment
Level 1	Orientation	n/a	n/a	n/a
Level 2	Orientation	n/a	1.5 hr Mentor Session	None
Level 3	15 hrs walking dogs	2 Mentor Sessions	1.5 hr Training	8 hrs/month
Level 4	30 hrs walking dogs	Level 3 Training	5 weeks, 1 hr class	10 hrs/month
Level 5	n/a	Level 4 Training	2 hr training class	10 hrs/month
Level 6	40 hrs walking dogs	Level 5 Training	5 weeks, 1 hr class	10 hrs/month

Dog-walking mentors. The dog-walking mentor trains the new dog walkers on how to remove the dog from the kennel, how to put the appropriate harness on the dog, and how to sign out the dog when taking the dog for a walk. During my time in the field, I was able to talk to three volunteers who work as mentors for the dog-walking program. I spoke to two female mentors and one male mentor. The ages for these mentors ranged from mid-20s, to 40s and mid-60s. The mentors came at various times throughout the week, but each one would come and mentor in three-hour shifts.

The dog-walking mentor program requires a small commitment of three hours of volunteering a month. The mentors tell the mentoring team leader when they are

available and then create time slots for the new volunteers to sign up to meet with the mentors at the Kentfield shelter. The primary responsibilities of the mentor are to show how to handle the dog and also to explain the rules of the property to the dog walkers. For example, at SPD, dog walkers must keep a distance of five feet between the dog they are walking and any other person. The mentor explains these rules and then what to do if a dog gets off the leash, and is, "loose." The mentor is the first person a dog-walking volunteer encounters at SPD.

There are two primary challenges faced by all volunteers of the dog-walking team: (a) the number of dogs that need to be walked each day, and (b) some dogs require a trained dog-walker. The first challenge creates logistical issues since there are about 140 dogs at SPD at any given time. The dog-walking leads instruct the dog-walkers to walk the dogs for about 10 minutes per dog, but there are only about 10 pens to place the dogs in at any given moment. Since getting the dogs out is important for the health of the dogs and the cleanliness of the kennels, SPD employees also walk dogs alongside the volunteers. The high volume of dogs at SPD forces SPD to use employees to walk dogs in the morning and evening.

The second challenge relates to the varying levels of dogs and the fact that not all of the volunteers are going to be trained to walk dogs in all Levels 1-6. The vast majority of the dogs at SPD are in Levels 4-6, but the majority of volunteers are only approved to walk dogs in Levels 1-3. SPD has to make sure that volunteers are trained so that they can walk more dogs and make the process more efficient. Volunteers often tell stories of the employees and only a few volunteers walking dogs as late as 10 p.m. to make sure

they were able to go the bathroom because there were not enough trained volunteers present to take out the dogs. At this same time, training all of the volunteers to walk all the dogs is a challenge because not all of the volunteers have the ability to take a dog behavior course for five weeks or volunteer for 10 hours a month.

The limitations on the dog walkers present challenges to the dog-walking team at SPD. Dog walking is a highly popular volunteer activity, but there is often a need for more volunteers and for better-trained volunteers. The nature of the work of these volunteers involves handling large animals and requires a physical capacity to walk the dogs and an ability to deal with unflattering situations such as cleaning up dog feces and allowing a dog to jump on the volunteer. The final team that was involved in this study from the dog program was the team of volunteers who helped potential adopters find the right dog for them.

The adoption match team. I interviewed two volunteers who were on the adoption match team in this study. Volunteers on the adoption match team work closely with employees and dog adoption counselors to help potential dog adopters find the dog that best fits their needs. For example, an individual will come by SPD in hopes of adopting a new dog for his her home. The individual enters the property and starts looking at the dogs in the kennels. The adoption match team is responsible for engaging that potential adopter, making themselves available for questions or help in the event that the adopter wants to see a dog out of the kennel. After asking the potential adopter a few questions, the volunteers on the adoption match team will then recommend a few dogs that the potential adopter may want to consider.

The volunteers on the adoption match team serve in a "customer service type role" (Brooklyn) at SPD. They must be comfortable talking with people and they must know about the dogs that are available to adopt. SPD brings new dogs to the shelter whenever a kennel opens up. The primary way a kennel becomes available is when a dog is adopted. Therefore, the dogs in the shelter changes each and every day. The changing inventory requires information on new dogs to be gathered quickly. The adoption match team use mobile technologies such as cell phones and tables to access the dog database for SPD to help them know which dogs would be best for each adopter. The adoption match team started almost two years ago, but offers a specific service to potential adopters.

The adoption match team is also unique in that it is comprised of both SPD employees and volunteers who fulfill the same roles and perform the same work. While employees walk dogs alongside the volunteer dog walkers, employees and volunteers rarely meet to make decisions about the dogs or how they will improve the dog walking program. On the adoption match team, however, employees and volunteers work together, brainstorm, and make decisions as a group. The leader of the adoption match team is a volunteer, Paulo, but three employees are on the team as well.

The volunteers on the adoption match team are present on the weekends due to their work schedules, but the employees serve the role as matchmakers during the week. The volunteers who are on the adoption match team need to be able to walk most of the dogs since they will go and bring the dogs to the potential adopter. Additionally, the adoption match team recently received grant money to develop a gazebo right at the

entrance to the courtyard area so that they could have an area to talk with potential adopters and answer any questions the adopters might have concerning the dogs. Members of the dog programs made up the majority of the volunteers who I interviewed in this study (54%). However, the cat program makes up the other half of the animals at SPD. To provide a complete picture of the volunteer experience at SPD, I also interviewed members of some of the cat programs, specifically the general cat program and the kitten nursery program.

Cat Program

The cat program is much less visible at SPD compared to the adoption match team and dog-walking team. Since all of the cats are located inside and are much quieter than the dogs, it is easy to overlook the cats and kittens that SPD shelters at its property. However, some of the cat and kitten programs at SPD save the largest number of animals each year and make the most noticeable impact in Metropolis. There are two main areas where volunteers work in the cat program at SPD: (a) the general cat program, and (b) kitten nursery.

General cat program. The general cat program at SPD takes in stray cats, evaluates the cats, and then attempts to find adopters for the cats. The cats are housed in three buildings in the courtyard of SPD. The cat program is much simpler in comparison to the dog program at SPD. However, the cats have paid adoption counselors who and process the paperwork for any cat adoptions or fosters. The main cattery is located on the far west border of the main yard of SPD. In this project, I interviewed and observed two volunteers who worked in the cat program.

The cattery contains more than 100 cats at any given time. There are two desks right at the entrance of the main cattery where employees work from 11 a.m. to 7 p.m. The volunteers have various responsibilities in the cattery. One of the main roles of volunteers is to provide enrichment to the cats. SPD wants to make sure that the cats are as stress-free as possible so that the animals will be on their best behavior when potential adopters come by to visit. Volunteers are asked to open the crates and simply pet the cats in the crates.

The other option for cat enrichment is to take a cat from the crate and then carry it into a small glass room at the end of the crates. The room was created so that potential adopters could take a cat out and play with it. However, when potential adopters are not present, volunteers can use the room to play with the cats. Additionally, there are three large group play areas where 10-15 cats reside. Volunteers are allowed to go in and provide those cats enrichment as well. Volunteers who want to provide enrichment for the cats require no training, but they must check in with the employees working in the cattery for a quick cattery overview.

Volunteers are also asked to clean the crates in the cattery. The crates in the cattery require constant cleaning and there is a specific protocol that needs to be followed so that no diseases are spread from cat to cat. When volunteering to clean the crates, volunteers need to schedule a mentor meeting with an employee so that the employee can show the volunteer how to properly clean a crate. After the brief lesson on how to clean the crate, volunteers can come and clean crates in the cattery at any time to assist with the cat program.

Volunteers can also work in the cattery by taking photos of the cats and assisting with online cat marketing. One of the participants in this study worked primarily as a cat photographer. The work done by the photographers and marketers allows potential adopters to see the cats and have an idea of which they might like to adopt, and SPD has identified research that links quality photographs and videos with higher rates of adoption. The photographers are responsible for scheduling time to come by and take some of the cats out of the crates to take pictures of them playing or looking at the camera. The photographers must use their own high-quality cameras and also be able to upload the photos to SPD's website.

The only additional responsibility for the cat photographer is to know which cats need to be photographed. Each evening, a report is created by SPD that communicates which cats were adopted and identifies any new cats that were brought into the cattery. The photographers must read the report and then try to take photos of the cats that are new to the cattery. It is important to take photos of the cats as quickly as possible so that they can be posted online where potential adopters are looking at cats they might want to adopt. The photographers are trained to handle the cats in a safe manner and coordinate to make sure that the newest cats have clear, presentable photographs for the website. Cat photography and marketing is an important component of volunteering in the main cat program. However, the kitten nursery program is a much more demanding volunteer role at SPD.

Kitten nursery program. The founder of SPD saw that hundreds of kittens were dying because they were unable to survive the first few months of their life. Seeing the

opportunity to make a significant dent in the kill-rate in Metropolis, SPD started a feeding program for kittens. SPD sought to take in as many kittens as possible and use volunteers and some paid staff to feed the kittens and take care of their general health in the weeks after they are born. SPD refers to the time between April and August as "kitten season" because it receives a massive influx of stray kittens around that time.

The kitten nursery program requires a high level of commitment and involvement by the volunteers. First, the volunteers must attend the general SPD orientation and then attend a kitten nursery orientation. In the kitten orientation, volunteers learn about the responsibilities of being a kitten feeder. After completing these two orientations, volunteers must shadow nursery feeders twice before being allowed to sign up for a volunteer shift. The new volunteers must show that they know how to feed and weigh the kittens and that they can do so in an efficient manner.

The second main area of commitment for the nursery feeders is the volunteer agreement they are required to sign when they become nursery feeders. The agreements are created by the volunteer trainer for the kitten nursery program along with the staff director of the kitten nursery program. Volunteer shifts begin at 6 a.m. each morning and the three-hour shifts run all the way until 3 a.m. SPD hires paid feeders for some of the late evening shifts, but volunteers fill the remainder of the open slots. Most of the volunteer programs at SPD, such as the dog-walking program, ask volunteers to plan ahead and schedule when they will be coming in to volunteer. If a volunteer misses a scheduled volunteer time, there are little to no repercussions for the volunteers. However, the kitten-feeding program has strict rules regarding consistency, tardiness, and

commitment. Volunteers who want to feed kittens must sign an agreement that says they will be at the same three-hour time slot for six months every week. If they have to miss a week, they need to find someone to replace them for that particular time slot. If a volunteer doesn't show up at his or her specified time, the director of the nursery program will talk to the volunteer about the issue; if it happens again, the volunteer's position will be replaced. The kitten nursery program must have strict guidelines on attendance and commitment because the kittens are so dependent upon being fed. If a volunteer misses his or her shift, then it is possible that some kittens may not survive because they will not receive the nourishment they need.

Additionally, the kitten nursery program requires volunteers to work quickly and there is little time for bonding with the kittens. The work is messy, and volunteers are unable to socialize with other volunteers while doing the work. Despite this high commitment and the challenging aspects to the work, there are more than 120 volunteers who work in the kitten nursery feeding program every year. The team leader, in conjunction with the staff director of the program, is responsible for training and organizing all of the different volunteers for the kitten program.

The kitten nursery program is located at a different SPD location than where the large dogs and other catteries are located. The kitten nursery program is located in small shopping area in an older Metropolis neighborhood. This location is called the SPD "Briar Oaks" site. The Briar Oaks location serves several functions. Since it is a smaller location, SPD sends the smallest animals to Briar Oaks. The employees and volunteers at Briar Oaks feed and house the majority of the kittens and puppies that SPD brings into

the shelter. The puppies have a small play yard on artificial turf and the kittens have a large nursery area that can house all of the kittens during "kitten season."

The Briar Oaks location also has normal-sized cats that are housed in larger, group cat living areas. Potential adopters can enter the main entrance, see the cats immediately, and then go to the dog area if they want to adopt a puppy. However, the kitten nursery is located at the far end of the strip mall and is completely separated from the main Briar Oaks building. There are no signs that identify the unit as the kitten nursery. The nursery itself consists of three rooms that are filled with small crates for kittens. In these rooms, there are tables for the volunteers and paid staff to weigh and feed the kittens. The rooms are unable to fit more than three people in each room at a given time, and so the maximum number of feeders the kittens can have at a given time is nine.

The kitten nursery program presents an interesting point of comparison for the dog-walking volunteers. The kitten nursery program has high expectations for commitment, and there are set times and days for volunteers to come and work. Since the kittens are not old enough to appreciate or need regular enrichment, volunteers are discouraged to participate in this program if they want to play with kittens. These volunteers are instead encouraged to foster cats or work at the other catteries. In contrast, the dog-walking volunteers are able to come and go as they please and they are not in danger of every being removed from the volunteer list if they miss a scheduled shift. To gain a better idea of the different experiences of volunteers at SPD, I interviewed three members of the kitten nursery program, including the team lead and one employee. In

addition to the dog and cat program, I also interviewed volunteers who performed other tasks for SPD outside of working with the actual animals.

Non-Animal Volunteers

The third category of volunteer participants in the research study includes any volunteers who have roles with SPD that do not include any handling or direct contact with the animals at the shelter. I was interested in talking with these volunteers to better understand the range of work at the shelter and to identify any additional or different objects of identification beyond the animals at the shelter. There is a wide-range of non-animal interacting volunteers at SPD. In this study, I was able to access members of the volunteer coordination team and the development team. In sum, I interviewed five volunteers who primarily worked in roles that only involved people or working on the computer in some capacity.

Volunteer coordination team. The first team that volunteers interact with when trying to work at SPD is the volunteer coordination team. The volunteer coordination team consists of about 10 volunteers who help to organize orientations, respond to email questions, and initiate social events for the volunteers. The volunteer coordination team spends the most time working and conducting the orientations at SPD. As mentioned above, the orientations are an important part of bringing on new volunteers and there is great demand for orientations.

The volunteer coordination team uses software through SPD's website where potential volunteers upload their application to become a volunteer. The volunteer coordination team will take all of the applications and place each potential volunteer into

an upcoming orientation. The orientations on the weekend often contain more than 100 attendees and these orientations are held at least twice each month . In addition to processing paperwork before the orientation, the volunteer coordination team is responsible for collecting the $20 orientation fee. The fee to attend the orientation primarily covers the cost of the volunteer shirt the volunteers receive for attending the orientation. The volunteer coordination team then decides who will be the main speaker at the orientation and also makes sure that there are enough volunteers present to give tours after the orientation.

During the orientation, the volunteer coordination team must arrive early and check-in the new volunteers as they arrive to the orientation. The volunteer team must check in each volunteer so that there is a record of who attended the orientation and volunteers can be officially placed in the online volunteer system. The volunteer coordination team arrives early to the orientation to greet people, check them in, and then show them where to sit in the orientation. Each orientation requires three or four volunteers to be present to run the orientation.

After the potential volunteers are seated, the coordination team is also responsible for the content of the presentation. Typically, the presentation includes a 75-minute talk and then a 10-15 minute tour of the animal shelter. A member of the volunteer coordination team or the staff volunteer coordinator would usually give the presentation. The presentation describes the different volunteer opportunities at SPD and how the volunteers can immediately get involved. The presentation includes a video from the founder of SPD and also explains the various safety precautions that need to be taken

when working at SPD. As the orientation concludes, members of the volunteer coordination team are present to answer any questions from the potential volunteers. Additionally, the volunteer coordination team and any available volunteers lead the potential volunteers on a 10-minute tour of the main shelter area.

Following the completion of each orientation, the volunteer coordination team is responsible for creating accounts for each volunteer who attended the orientation. The bulk of this work occurs on the computer, but requires one of the volunteer coordination team members to process the applications of each of the 100 or so potential volunteers. The volunteer coordination team seeks to complete the application process within 24 hours of the orientation. After the accounts are created, volunteers are placed into their preferred volunteer team, and they are contacted by SPD and by the team leader within the following week.

The volunteer coordination team is also responsible for any social events that occur across SPD. At any time, a specific volunteer team can have social gatherings formally or informally, but if the entire organization wants to try to gather all of the volunteers across teams, the volunteer coordination team is in charge of organizing the event. In the summer of 2015, SPD hired a new volunteer coordinator staff member, Lois. The hiring of Lois provided a paid staff leader for the volunteer coordination team. Lois works closely with the volunteer coordination team and even started changing some of the content, location, and frequency of volunteer orientations. Lois shortened the talk to about 60 minutes and also incorporated some volunteer orientations during the week for potential volunteers who were unavailable on the weekend. Lois also now helps to

communicate to all the volunteers on the different Facebook groups, but she stays out of the inner-workings of the specific teams.

The volunteer coordination team has a people-facing role at SPD. The for-profit equivalent of the role the volunteer coordination team essentially serves for volunteers at SPD would be the human resource department. Members of the volunteer coordination work with people and behind the computer, but some members also are active in fostering animals or walking dogs when they have additional volunteer time.

The development team. I was also able to talk to one member of the development team for SPD. The job requirements for members of the development team require no interaction with the animals. The development team at SPD focuses on raising money at different locations across the city. The volunteers on the development team work closely with the fundraising and community event employees to make sure that they have enough SPD advocates at different events.

Raising money is an important part of SPD and is necessary for SPD to continue its programming to keep Metropolis a no-kill city. The development team is responsible for the placement of donation boxes around the city of Metropolis. For example, at local grocery stores, there are small boxes that allow patrons to place dollars and change that will be donated to SPD. The development team is in charge of emptying those boxes each week, compiling the money, and distributing the funds into the proper account.

The volunteer aspect of the development team is primarily centralized around the acquiring of funds that are donated to SPD. The volunteer development team leader organizes who will go and pick up the money and how it will eventually end up in the

correct bank account. While the development team requires high levels of trust, the main responsibilities are straightforward and require no interaction with animals at SPD. The different types of volunteers at SPD reflect the complex operations needed to maintain SPD. Volunteers alone do not run and maintain SPD. The employees at SPD often work alongside the volunteers at SPD, and it would be impossible to understand the volunteers at SPD without also understanding the role of the employees at SPD.

PAID EMPLOYEES AT SPD

I also interviewed employees at SPD to gain a better understanding of the volunteer work at SPD, and the overall operations of SPD as an organization. The employees at SPD regularly interact with, work alongside, and lead volunteers. The employees' perspective offers insight into how the organization as a whole perceives the volunteers and the work of the volunteers. In some instances, volunteers became employees and were able to speak to the differences between the two roles. In sum, I interviewed seven employees who worked in a variety of capacities at the animal shelter. To distinguish between paid staff members and non-paid staff members at SPD, I utilize the term "employee" to refer to a paid staff member.

I interviewed the newly hired volunteer coordinator, Lois, and had multiple interactions with her during my time collecting data. Lois was a key member of the organization who helped me in recruiting other employees to interview. I emailed Lois in the fall of 2015 and told her that I wanted to talk to some of the paid employees who interacted regularly with volunteers. Lois emailed five employees and then scheduled interview appointments. In addition to the employees scheduled by Lois, I interviewed

Lois and SPD's executive director, Sadie. I attempted to recruit more employee interviews through Lois, but she limited the number to five.

The employees I interviewed were mostly female (71%) and were between the ages of 35 and 45 (71%). Lois selected the employees for me based upon their availability and potential interest in talking with me about volunteers. Four of the seven employees I interviewed were volunteers prior to being hired as employees (57%). The other distinguishing factor among the employees was their role in the organization. Three of the employees (43%)—Lois, Sadie, and Amos—worked in roles that focused on the strategy and operations of the organization. The other four employees (57%) worked in roles that dealt more directly with the animals: lead dog behaviorist, dog adoption counselors, adoption match lead, and kitten nursery director. Table 2.4 shows the demographic information on the employees I interviewed at SPD.

I wanted to learn more about how the employees interacted with volunteers so I made sure that the employee participants interacted with the volunteers during their normal role at SPD. For example, I interviewed a member of the adoption match team who works with volunteers to help place the right dog in the best home, and I also talked with one of the dog adoption counselors who works with volunteers on the dog walking team. Lastly, I spoke with SPD leaders such as the community liaison, kitten baby bottle director, and the dog behaviorist.

Table 2.4 Employee Demographic Information

Name	Title	Sex	Age Range	Former Volunteer?	Tenure (years)	Interaction with Volunteers	Office Location
Levi	Lead Behaviorist	M	35-45	No	4	Training; Manages volunteer staff	Kentfield; Next to the laundry area
Lois	Volunteer Coordinator	F	35-45	No	0.5	Human resources for volunteers; orientations	Kentfield; Meade building
Sadie	Executive Director	F	35-45	Yes	8	Little to no interaction with volunteers	Kentfield; Meade building
Amos	Community Manager	M	25-35	Yes	1.5	Brings volunteers to community events	Kentfield; Meade building
Grace	Kitten Nursery Manager	F	35-45	Yes	4	Works closely with volunteer liaison for kittens	Briar Oaks; Kitten nursery
Dorothy	Dog Adoption Lead	F	25-35	No	6	Works closely with dog walking volunteers; adoption match volunteers	Kentfield; Next to the laundry area
Lucy	Adoption Match Manager	F	35-45	Yes	4	Works with dog walking volunteers; adoption match volunteers	Kentfield; Adoption Match gazebo

Notes: For the employees sex: M = male; F = female.

THE PHYSICAL SITE

The context is important in this study because it derives from a constructivist perspective claiming that "any analysis is contextually situated in time, place, culture, and situation" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 131). The next section therefore describes, in great detail, the physical site of SPD. SPD has two primary physical locations in Metropolis: Kentfield and Briar Oaks. The Kentfield shelter is the large, main shelter that houses the large dogs and cats. The shelter is located near the city center and is close to a large body of water and a running trail. The location allows the shelter to be highly visible by the public and easily accessible by a large number of residents. The shelter is the old Metropolis city shelter, and since Metropolis still owns the land, SPD uses about two-thirds of the space for their programs and the city uses the final third of the shelter for its animals. The lease agreement states that SPD must allow for space for the city animals (mainly dogs), and thus, there are two large stretches of kennels that contain dogs that are brought in from the city of Metropolis. The city of Metropolis has its own dog walkers and has someone in the main office area to handle adoptions. Other than the shared space, there are not any other processes that are shared between the city animals and SPD. Figure 2.1 shows a rendering of the property at Kentfield, and Table 2.5 identifies the names of the buildings.

The Kentfield property is an important place for understanding the nature of the volunteer work. While the volunteers know and understand that SPD is an animal shelter, few have visited the shelter before they attend the volunteer orientation. The shelter is very old and is not very clean or tidy. For example, in the large room where the

orientation is held, there are file cabinets, extra animal food, and animal crates pushed to the sides of the room. The area that holds the animals contains a certain stench that most first-time visitors may not be prepared for upon arrival. While the buildings at SPD remain functional, the ceiling panels hanging down from the ceiling, there are muddy paw prints on the floor, and some orientation attendees have to sit on stools during the presentation due to a lack of seating.

The site itself consists of a small campus of six buildings and 12 dog walking pens. One building, the Meade Building (pseudonym), is situated outside of the main fenced area of the site. Meade is located closest to the road and the main parking area. The building is painted in purple and green on the outside and has an artistic rendering of a cat playing with a ball. Most of the marketing, executive, and community event employees have offices in Meade. However, these offices are not accessible to the general public and are not known unless meeting with someone from the marketing or public relations department. In addition to these offices, Meade has two large meeting rooms that are used for volunteer orientations, emergency kennels, and storage for large items.

Meade is unique in that it is the first building that visitors will encounter upon entering the main area of SPD, but the building is locked from visitors and there are very few reasons as to why any new visitor would even enter Meade. Due to its location, however, many visitors end up knocking on the door to Meade and force a volunteer or employee who is present to come and open the door just to tell them to go to the next building.

The main entry into the animal section of SPD is through the Carson Building. Outside of the Carson Building, there is an eight-foot tall chain-link fence that locks when the building is officially closed. After walking through the fence, a visitor enters Carson and sees four cubicles that are separated by glass walls. During normal hours, the animal adoption counselors sit behind the desks and help individuals with all the paperwork necessary to adopt a dog or cat.

The first cubicle is a desk for signing out dogs that volunteers are taking out of SPD for a walk on the trail. A volunteer worker signs out the dog walkers and then signs them back in when they return. SPD adoption counselors use the middle two cubicles to help individuals adopt cats and dogs. In front of these cubicles are chairs where potential adopters sit to complete paperwork before leaving with their new best friend. The adoption counselors for the city dogs work at the last cubicle in Carson. There is usually one person in the cubicle who helps individuals adopt the dogs. At the end of the desk, there is a computer where volunteers log in to record their volunteer hours. At the end of Carson, there is another door that opens into the kennel area.

As you exit Carson, you immediately notice two long stretches of kennels to your left in an L-Shape. These kennels contain about 80 dogs, all of which are fed, walked, and managed by the city employees. When you look straight ahead from outside of the Carson Building, you see a large, grassy yard area. At the other end of the grassy area, there is a dog pen where volunteers and employees from the city can walk the dogs.

When volunteers and visitors exit Carson and head to the right, they enter the kennel and yard area of SPD. All of the dogs and cats in this area are managed and under

the supervision of SPD and the volunteers at SPD. Immediately to the right of the Carson Building is the first line of kennels, called Kennel A. Kennel A contains about fifty dogs and stretches toward the second line of kennels, Kennel B. In the space between these two lines of kennels, there are two buildings that house the cats at SPD.

The first building with the cats is called the Feline Ward. In this building, there are cats in individual kennels along the wall and then there are three large shared spaces where five to ten cats reside. Upon entering the Feline Ward, there is a desk where the cat adoption counselors stay to answer any questions and direct volunteers who help with the cats. The second cat building is Natalie's Ward and is directly in front of Kennel A in the middle of the main yard area. Natalie's Ward has a lock on it and is the only place that houses the cats being treated for ringworm.

Kennel A and Kennel B create an L-shape, and at the meeting point of the two kennels is the medical clinic at SPD. The Clinic contains some kennels for the cats that have leukemia, but are still able to be adopted. Behind the kennels for these cats, the veterinarians, clinicians, and nurses all work in the clinic. The veterinarians and clinicians in the Clinic help animals in the birthing process and treat any illnesses. The Clinic opens to the parking lot on the outside and it is also the same area where donations are received by SPD.

Between Kennel B and the Clinic, there is a small walkway that leads to the backside of Kennel B and the last building on the property. The final structure is called the Truckport and contains most of the storage for food and materials at SPD. The Truckport is an open-air garage where volunteers can wash dogs, clean water dishes, and

find treats for the animals. The final indoor area next to the Truckport contains a laundry room and several offices for some of the operations and dog behavior employees. Volunteers have access to the laundry room at all times and often will toss some blankets and towels in the washer before going to walk a dog.

The final line of kennels is called Kennel C, which sits directly across from and is parallel to Kennel A. Kennel C contains another fifty dogs and closes the courtyard on three sides with Kennel A, B, and C. Inside the courtyard, SPD has constructed small pens where dog walkers bring dogs to let them relieve themselves and where the dog walkers can pet and play with the dogs. Additionally, there are large chain link kennels on the backside of Natalie's Ward, facing Kennel C, where dogs that have certain ailments can heal on soft ground with a little more space. There are five of these kennels in the courtyard area.

Figure 2.1 Physical Layout of Kentfield Property

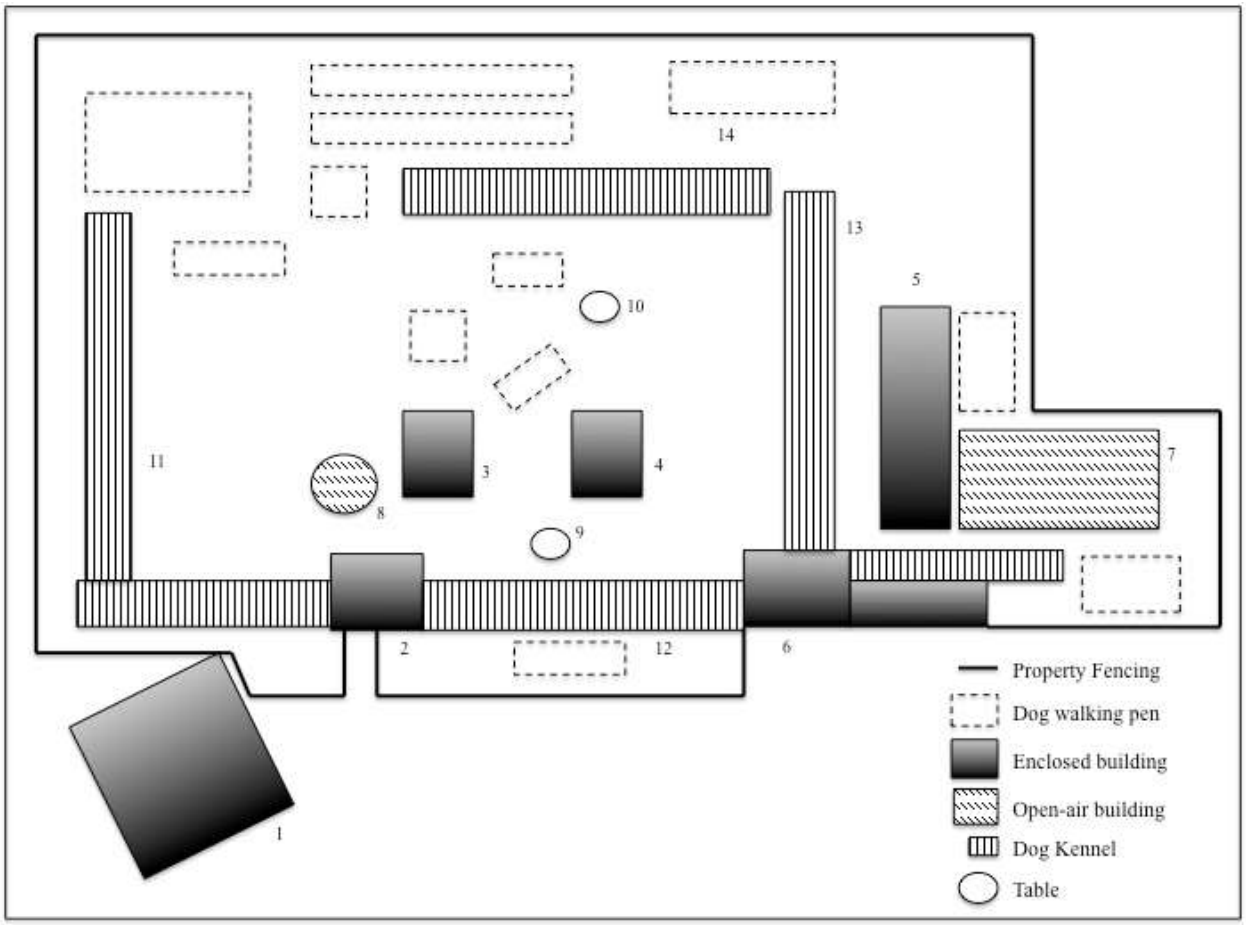

Table 2.5 Names of Buildings at Kentfield Shelter

Number	Building	Number	Building
1	Meade Building	8	Adoption Match Gazebo
2	Carson Building	9	White Table
3	Feline Ward	10	Back Table
4	Natalie's Ward	11	City Kennels
5	Laundry and Offices	12	Kennel A
6	Clinic	13	Kennel B
7	Truckport	14	Kennel C

In addition to the pens in the courtyard area, there are some larger pens behind Kennel C on the very back line of the property. There are two long pens that run parallel

to one another and another pen that mirrors those two pens, but is closer to the northeast side of the property. The last pen is located on the northwest side of the property and is used primarily by the dog behavior team. The dog behavior team will have playgroups every morning and evening to allow some of the dogs to develop social skills and learn how to get along with other dogs. The playgroup pen is much larger than the other pens and extends to the northwest corner of the property.

The property itself is an important element for the volunteers. SPD, at most times, has more than 140 dogs on the property, which can create a loud and overwhelming experience for the volunteers. Figure 2.1 shows the general map of the property and the location of the kennels and pens to walk dogs, and many of the notes that follow track the movements of employees and volunteers across the property.

COLLECTING DATA AT SPD

My data collection strategy focused on the volunteer's communication of identification and the embodiment of this identification through the work performed by the volunteers. The data collection plan was tied directly to the theoretical basis for this study. I needed data that would not only help me understand how volunteers constructed disidentification in their communication, but I also needed data that showed how these disidentifications influenced the work the volunteers performed. Thus, I collected data primarily through semi-structured interviews and observations. The interviews allowed participants to reflect upon and articulate, in their own words, how they identified with the organization, volunteering, or some other identification target (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002)—or how it was not (Elsbach & Bhattarachaya, 2001). The observational data

captured these identifications in the work and also countless informal interactions between and among volunteers and employees. Through interviews and observations, I was able to create an extensive data set from which I could effectively answer the research questions proposed in this study.

Interview data

The majority of the interviews (N = 40) occurred at the Kentfield shelter site during normal volunteer hours. There were multiple benefits to conducting the interviews on site at the Kentfield shelter. First, I was able to collect observational notes while the volunteers performed their work. I asked many volunteers if I could "shadow" them while they walked dogs or took photos of the animals. As I did so, the volunteers performed their work as normal and I was able to see how they worked directly. Secondly, interviewing on site allowed me to capture the various interactions the volunteers had with other volunteers and with the employees at SPD. Often, primarily while walking dogs, volunteers would stop and talk to other volunteers. The volunteers would ask who I was and what I was doing and I would be able to meet another point of contact. Lastly, I became part of the social scene where it was normal for me to be following others around with a notepad. The volunteers and employees recognized me and understood what I was doing.

The remaining interviews occurred at a different location such as a local coffee shop or at a volunteers' work office. I conducted two interviews over the phone with volunteers who primarily worked off site. Six of the seven employee interviews occurred on site, but one of them I conducted at the Briar Oaks location. I recorded all of the

interviews and captured more informal interactions in the observational notes. The recordings were a challenge at times because of the noise in the shelter. At any point there would be dogs barking, birds chirping, and people talking. Additionally, I recorded volunteers as they did their work, such as walking dogs, which required moving around from kennel to pen and then back to the original kennel. The movement led to another form of distraction and pause in the recordings.

Immediately following the interviews, I would head toward a table at Kentfield and jot down any notes about that particular interview that I was not able to write down during the interview. I spent 10-15 minutes reflecting on the interview and noted anything that stood out about that particular participant or interaction he or she had with employees that would not be captured on the recorder. After interviews on site, I opened up my notes and started to transfer the field notes into digital form. I transferred the shorthand notes into to complete sentences so that the notes would reflect complete thoughts, communication, and activities.

Although I started the interview process with a consistent protocol guiding interviews (Appendix A), I used semi-structured interviews so that I could ask probing questions and allow for the content of the interview to emerge as we talked about volunteering, identification, and the work of the volunteers (Legard, Keegan, & Ward, 2007). While walking around Kentfield, I had a list of talking points and main ideas written in my notepad instead of an established interview schedule with the same questions worded in the same way (Tracy, 2012). The informal interviews allowed for more spontaneous and unpredictable responses from the volunteers (Kvale, 1996).

Early in the data collection process, I tried to walk dogs and talk to volunteers at the same time. However, I found it very difficult both to participate and collect coherent data at the same time. I changed my strategy quickly so that I would shadow the volunteers or meet with them in a quiet area of the shelter. During my visits to the site, I tried to have an interview set up so that I knew I would be able to interview someone while I was there. There were days, however, where I went to Kentfield not knowing if I would be able to talk to anyone. On those days, I would approach dog walkers or other volunteers, introduce myself, and ask them if I could follow them around.

In addition to the semi-structured interviews, I also had many informal interactions with volunteers at SPD. Instead of recording these interactions, I used my observational notes to capture these conversations. As I got to know the volunteers and employees at SPD, I was able to ask follow-up questions the next day or the next time they were on site. There were many volunteers who would go out of their way to talk with me if they saw me on site when they came to volunteer. These additional conversations helped me to further understand the volunteers and gain a better grasp of SPD and the work of the volunteers.

Over my time in the field, I talked to more volunteers and started to learn about the important components of their volunteer work, and I engaged in a process of theoretical sampling (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). In the process of theoretical sampling, the researcher "jointly collects, codes, and analyzes his data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 45). I reviewed some of my field notes and saw the need to adjust questions more towards the volunteer-employee

interactions. In addition to adjusting the content of the interviews, I also sought to expand my interview pool to include employees so that I could look for any influence of the employees on volunteers' work and perceptions of their work or role in the organization. I also sought to vary the times I went up to the Kentfield shelter to interview the volunteers. I found that I would see the same volunteers at the same time of day and so I changed the times and days I would go up to Kentfield. By doing so, I tried to interview a variety of volunteers that worked in various roles.

The interviews lasted for an average time of one hour. There were two longer conversations that lasted more than two hours, but most of the interviews lasted just under one hour. The length of the interviews allowed the interviewees to tell stories about their volunteer work and allowed them to expound on any additional thoughts concerning SPD and volunteering. The interviews provided insight into how the volunteers viewed themselves and their work, but it was also important to capture the work practices of the volunteers through observational data collection.

Observational Data

Observational data helped me to see the actual work volunteers perform and examine how they aligned their personal values with those of the organization. While identifications are difficult to overtly observe, there was an iterative process of learning what each volunteer identifies with and then observing the volunteer perform and communicate that identification. Other researchers studying identification have utilized this same approach (Pratt, 2000; Zabusky & Barley, 1997). The observational data helped to supplement the interview data. I wrote down in-depth field notes where I recorded

"raw records" (Tracy, 2012, p. 114) of the volunteers' actions as they work. I brought a notepad with me every time I went to Kentfield or Briar Oaks and used shorthand in an effort to write down what I saw the volunteers do and hear them say as they work. After my time at the site has ended for that day, I recorded formal field notes as soon as I was able to go through the jottings from notebook. In most cases, I was able to write the field notes the evening or the next morning so that I would remember and recall the notes that I recorded in my raw records (Tracy, 2012).

There were a few different types of observational data I recorded during my time on site. First, I attended eight different volunteer orientations over the course of my time in the field. The volunteer orientations provided opportunities to hear from organizational representatives and to see how new volunteers interacted with one another and at Kentfield for the first time. The data from these orientations allowed me to better understand the organization's perspective on volunteering and how SPD introduces volunteers to the volunteer work and Kentfield. At the orientations, I paid particularly close attention to the questions that volunteers asked to better understand what the volunteers still needed to know after the orientation. The orientations also allowed me to see the general demographics of the volunteers who were interested in volunteering at SPD.

Second, I collected observational data by interviewing volunteers while they were volunteering. As I asked the participants questions, I would observe their interactions with any animals, other volunteers, or employees. These interactions provided another opportunity for the volunteers to enact their identities in behavior. I also paid attention to

how closely the volunteers followed the rules and procedures at SPD. The data from these observations were helpful in identifying any variance between what the volunteers did versus what they said they did in their work.

Lastly, I recorded general observations at SPD in the large courtyard area at Kentfield. Employees and volunteers are extremely active in their work. By active, I am referring to the high level of physical movement involved in running an animal shelter. While employees are feeding the dogs, volunteers are walking from kennel to pen and then back to the pen. The incredible amount of activity creates a busyness that can be overwhelming. Additionally, these observations also highlight the varied interactions among employees, volunteers, and between employees and volunteers.

In sum, I had 34 sessions of work observations spanning more than 72 hours on site. The observations added important data to the project that helps to validate the perceptions of the volunteer interviews. The breakdown of hours per shift represents the length of time that most volunteers said they spent at SPD. Additionally, the orientations lasted more than two hours, and so it makes sense that the average time per observation lasted approximately two hours (the average shift was 2.11 hours). The observations capture important components concerning the culture of SPD and the nature of the work at the animal shelter. I used a professional transcription service to transcribe the recorded interviews. Although the transcription proved to be difficult since there were loud noises in the background, I went back through the recordings carefully to fill in any missing words.

As expected, the observations and interviews compiled a large dataset for this study. To keep track of the data, I created "keys" for the observational and interview data that linked the documents with the date and pseudonym of the individuals involved in that data through Microsoft Excel. After all of the data were collected, I used the qualitative analysis program Atlas.Ti to organize and analyze the data. To protect the participants in this study, I used a random name generator to create pseudonyms for the names of participants, places, and programs at SPD. Additionally, I used an external hard drive to back up the data files.

My data collection process sought to maintain a rigor to create a rich dataset. I sought depth and precision in the data through showing flexibility on when I went to the site, who I spoke with, and constantly recording notes and pieces of data. In sum, I analyzed 1773 pages containing 437084 words of data. Although the amount of data does not determine its quality, the breadth of data provides an idea of the lengths I went to in order to analyze the data.

DATA ANALYSIS

The data analysis began with a broad interest in communication and identification in non-profit organizations. I became interested in volunteer identification processes in non-profit organizations through the collection and analysis of pilot data prior to this dissertation. The analysis of six interviews of volunteers from different organizations showed a consistent pattern of identification. The volunteers in the pilot study constructed identities that were in opposition to the organization. The volunteers were highly involved and active in their volunteer work, but expressed an ambivalent attitude

toward, and were even in opposition to, the organization. The pilot study piqued my interest in the identification processes of volunteers and helped to set up the analysis for this dissertation.

The pilot study provided an opportunity to understand the complexity of volunteer identification processes. The findings from the pilot study provided a "local" knowledge about the situation (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 45), but the pilot data only provided a glimpse into the communicative construction of identification among volunteer members. The focus on identification serves as a "guiding" interest that will help to provide a "loose structure" for the inductive approach to this research (Charmaz, 2006, p. 16). Past research on multiple identifications has utilized an inductive approach to help to capture the varying identification targets (e.g., Pratt, 2000) and this study sought a similar end. Since I am primarily interested in the communicative construction of identification in an environment where members may not be as motivated to identify (Gossett, 2002), I utilized an inductive, iterative approach to analysis, whereby the theoretical findings emerged from the data.

Approach to the Analysis

Since I was interested in the intentions and perceptions of volunteers both in terms of their own actions and communication from the organization, I utilized an emic approach where "behavior is described from the actor's point of view and is context specific" (Tracy, 2012, p. 21). I decided to immerse myself in a singular organizational context where I had access to workers to gather their stories and perspectives. I was in a position to evaluate the specific communicative and behavioral actions of volunteers.

I analyzed the interviews and observations using a constant comparative method (Charmaz, 2006; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Using constant comparative analysis helped to build theory through the "iterative testing of tentative explanations against the experience of ongoing interaction with group members" (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002, p. 11). As I collected data, I spent time thinking about the patterns and ideas that emerged from the data. In fact, the early evidence of identification—and disidentification—arose out of a particular situation that occurred with the participant from an early interview where a volunteer expressed a separation from the values of SPD as an organization, but fully identified with the animals. As I saw these patterns reinforced through other interviews and observations, I decided to ask more questions about volunteers' bond with the organization and how this influenced their work.

I used memo writing to assist in identifying and materializing these patterns as I went through the data. In fact, about halfway through my data collection, I wrote out three memos that ultimately shaped chapters four and five of this dissertation. The three memos at this stage in the process were "directive for further coding of the field notes" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 112). The memo-ing process allowed me to think about the potential of the findings to contribute to the present literature on identification and organizational communication. The memos also afforded me the opportunity to construct the framework for the findings for this paper. The memos helped to guide the analysis of the remainder of the data.

Coding Process for Data Analysis

After collecting and transcribing the first group of interviews, I began initial coding process. First, I coded by assigning labels and text to categories that emerged directly from the data at the beginning of the coding process (Charmaz, 2006). In this first round of coding, I sought to "remain open to seeing what you can learn while coding and where it can take you" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 48). Initially, I coded the data line-by-line to ensure that I noticed the various nuances of the interview and observational data.

After I imported all of the documents into the qualitative data analysis program Atlas.Ti, I spent six weeks going through each interview and coding each line of the data. The initial coding process and constant comparative analysis led to the formation of codes that addressed the work of the volunteers and how they aligned their personal values with the values of the organization. Early in the process, the codes began to dance around theoretical concepts and I used different codes to speak to similar ideas. For example, the work practices of volunteers became prevalent in terms of how the volunteers described the dirtiness of the work. At first, I started to write down simple categories such as "picking up poo," "cleaning the kennel," and "dislike of cleaning up after dogs." Subsequent comparison of these in vivo codes (Charmaz, 2006) helped bring to the surface different dimensions of dirty work (see Chapter 5). The initial coding process helped to reveal the dimensions of the categories that were developed later through axial coding.

In addition to using constant comparative analysis in the data collection phase of this project, I also used constant comparative analysis within the coding process to

compare the initial codes from one interview with that of a different interview. I saw if there were any important similarities or differences between these codes (Charmaz, 2006; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). If there was any relationship between codes that was noteworthy, I wrote down an analytic memo as I coded the data. The use of memos was beneficial in articulating links between codes and separate texts of data. Memos were also helpful to bridge the gap between the coding process and writing a draft of the research (Tracy, 2012).

After initial coding, I performed a focused coding of the data. Focused coding is different from open coding in that it includes a more analytical approach than line-by-line coding and also incorporates larger sections of text (Charmaz, 2006). Focused coding requires some insight into the direction of the research and decisions on which initial codes are most relevant to the overall story of the data (Charmaz, 2006). By using focused coding, I was able to go back through and identify codes and categories of codes that were especially pertinent to the findings in this study. The codes and categories that were most relevant to this study included any possible mention or tie to identification. Codes such as "hope in SPD" and "threatening to leave" became the focus of the next step of my analysis.

The last step of my coding process was axial coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). During this stage, I identified the individual categories of codes and collapsed these categories into larger, broader categories or themes (Charmaz, 2006). The data analysis becomes very systematic at this point in coding. Instead of merely grouping initial codes and identifying subcategories, I converted "text into concepts" by placing a "frame" on

the data collection (Charmaz, 2006, p. 61). At this point in the analysis I started to identify any connections between the categories of codes. By identifying these categories, I was able to construct new theoretical connections between the relationships between categories of codes. Axial coding was an important stage in the analysis because I was able to synthesize the initial codes and identify any subcategories and consequently make sure the coding is organized and structured.

Subsequent Analyses for Each Chapter

The specific steps of data analysis varied for each research question in this dissertation. The different approaches are broadly described in the following section, but the steps are also provided in more detail in each findings chapter. After the initial and axial coding processes, I performed four unique analytical steps that resulted in the four findings chapters of this dissertation (see Table 2.6). The initial coding process revealed that the volunteers communicatively expressed multiple identifications (Chapter 3), constructed disidentifications and yet still remained in the organization (Chapter 4), and these disidentified workers were found to be very committed to the volunteer work (Chapter 5). Also, the initial coding of the field notes and the employee interviews showed that the organization played an important role in creating certain messages that played a role in volunteer identification (Chapter 6). Each chapter of the dissertation, however, contains a unique analysis that further develops each of the findings.

Table 2.6 Coding Processes for Initial Data Analysis

Steps in Initial Analysis	Outcome of Analysis	Examples
Initial Coding (line-by-line)	Formation of 8285 codes	*"Comparing SPD to another shelter"; "cleaning kennels"*
Memo Writing	Discovery of disidentification as a lens to analyze some of the early findings after initial analysis.	*"The field notes describe how many people volunteers talk to, if staff approaches them, and what the conversation is about. Some of this is captured in the interviews, but the field notes describe where the conversation was."*
Focused Coding	Analyzed the codes and identified specific codes that may influence an individuals identification or disidentification	*"impressed at SPD" became part of "attitude toward SPD" category*
Axial Coding	Grouped the initial codes together to create code groups	*"Talk about dog poo"* and *"mention of smell"* moved into larger *"Physical Dirty Work"* category

The first analysis, conducted in Chapter 3, sought to learn how the volunteers at SPD communicatively constructed identification at SPD. The analysis in Chapter 3 revealed that volunteers not only identified with the organization, but also constructed identifications with various organizational targets. Chapter 3 is foundational to the study in that the analysis sets the stage for understanding how the membership of volunteers influenced the identification processes of volunteers. The analysis in Chapter 4 led to the emergence of disidentification as a process by which volunteers separated their identities from the organization. The analysis in Chapter 4 uncovers the communicative moves

made by volunteers to position their identifications alongside disidentifications in their work. Additionally, Chapter 4 shows how identification and disidentification are simultaneously managed through communication from the volunteers.

Chapter 5 shifts the focus from the reflective self-reporting of identification to look at the consequences of disidentification and identification on the day-to-day work of the volunteers. Learning that volunteers constructed the identifications and disidentifications with various organizational targets at the animal shelter, Chapter 5 looks at how these varied identifications shape or are shaped by the work of the volunteers. Specifically, the analysis in Chapter 5 identifies the dirty work of the volunteers and examines the relationship between identification, disidentification and the enactment of these identifications through volunteer work. Lastly, the scope of Chapter 6 shifts to the perspective of the organization. The analysis in Chapter 6 seeks to show how the organization plays a part in the identification and disidentification process of volunteers through the messages the organization sends to volunteers in conversation and more formal channels. The primary analysis for Chapter 6 stems from data collected from the volunteer orientation meetings and the interviews from the employees at SPD.

Each analysis sought to build upon the other as the theory emerged from the data through the analysis process. Yet each chapter examines a distinct communicative process, meaning each independently aids theoretical development, and collectively they provide a more holistic picture of the relationship between communication and identification in a non-profit context. Accordingly, Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 largely focus on the identification and disidentification processes from the perspective of reflection of

the volunteers. As Scott et al. (1998) mentioned concerning the communicative construction of identification, "The story we tell of ourselves in interaction (or posit with respect to interaction) with others is the essence of identification" (p. 305). In other words, when volunteers talk about how they identify with the organization, they are actively constructing identification with the organization. In conjunction with looking at the comments from the interview data, I also analyzed the observational data on how the volunteer performed the work at SPD. In particular, I went back and sought out instances where volunteers might express identification. The scope of Chapters 3 and 4 was focused on the volunteers' perspective and role in the organization.

Chapter 5 provides a shift in the perspective of the phenomena studied in this project. In order to analyze the consequences of identification and the consequences of the work on identification, Chapter 5 focuses on the micro-level work practices of the volunteers at SPD. To show the relationship between identification and work, I needed to analyze the work itself and find where the identification process and work theoretically intersected. Lastly, the level of analysis shifts again in Chapter 6 as I look at the influence of organizational messages on the identification processes of the volunteers. To accomplish this goal, I needed to analyze data from the organization. In Chapter 6, I first argue that the volunteer orientations serve as opportunities for the organizations to communicate desired messages to the volunteers. Secondly, I show how the employees perceive the orientations through interview data. Then, I analyze these two categories of data to show how the organization seeks to influence the identifications of volunteers.

As with any qualitative study, the validity and reliability of the findings are based on interpretation. In an effort to maintain the reliability of the findings, I attempt to stay grounded in the data by describing each and every thought process. In explicitly defining terms and showing my steps in each specific analysis, I walk the reader through each stage of the project. To maintain validity in the qualitative data, I used field notes in conjunction with the interview data to triangulate the communication surrounding a volunteers' disidentification (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). By analyzing field notes, documentation from orientations, and interviews from the participants themselves, I was able to show how the claims are supported from multiple perspectives. I also found discrepancies between what volunteers said and what they did—disjunctures—as I performed the analysis (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). These disjunctures were helpful in locating some of the tensions experienced by the volunteers. The observations allow for me to see if the volunteers enacted the same identifications they professed.

Another way in which I ensured the validity of the research in this dissertation was to perform "member checks." Member checks involve sharing the findings with the participants and asking them whether these findings are accurate with their experience (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). After analyzing the bulk of the data, I spoke with a six of the volunteers concerning the findings to check and see if it aligns with their experiences. Also, I checked with the volunteer coordinator at SPD to make sure that the organization, employees, or organizational strategy was not misrepresented in the data.

The site of research in this dissertation, SPD, plays an important role in the study. The present study makes no attempt to generalize from the data set, but instead, seeks to

understand the complicated relationship between identification, volunteers, and organizing. The methods reflect a rigorous attempt to maintain valid and reliable findings to uncover the nuance of identification and communication.

CHAPTER 3: THE IDENTIFICATION PROCESSES OF VOLUNTEERS WITH VARIOUS TARGETS OF IDENTIFICATION

Non-profit organizations provide a unique context to explore identification for a number of reasons. First, non-profit organizations are often created to address a specific mission or social cause, which might attract volunteers who identify with the mission of the organization (Lewis, 2005; Valentinov & Larsen, 2011). The mission of a non-profit organization is considered to be "more complex than those faced by corporations and more opaque then [sic] those confronted by government" (Frumkin & Andre-Clark, 2000, p. 160). The mission of a non-profit organization presents a potential target of identification for volunteers.

Second, non-profit organizations consist of volunteers who are free to join and exit at their leisure. In fact, volunteering has been described as having "dual meaning as work *and* leisure" (Ashcraft & Kedrowicz, 2002, p. 91). The freedom to enter and exit the organization shows how volunteers "choose to act," (Ellis & Campbell, 2005, p. 4), work "with free will" (Lewis, 2013, p. 2), and "donate" their "time to a particular organization" (Hustinx & Handy, 2009, p. 204). As such, understanding why and how individuals identify and disidentify with an organization strengthens management's ability to attract and retain volunteers. In a similar vein, volunteers are only bound to the organization in a unique psychological contract where the volunteers expect certain promises from the organization that are not tied to any remuneration (Rousseau, 1990). Unlike in for-profit organizations, volunteers do not receive any payment for their work; thus non-profit organizations must provide some other benefit to the volunteers that keep

them connected to their work. Taken together, these key aspects of non-profit volunteers offer scholars a unique setting to address the process of identity construction between volunteers and the organization (Ashcraft & Kedrowicz, 2002). Since volunteers have a lower barrier for entering and leaving their work in non-profit context relative to other organizational environments, this research provides value to individuals tasked with recruiting, managing, and retaining volunteers. Additionally, the research extends theory on identification in organizations by examining multiple identifications in a non-profit organization.

DEFINING IDENTIFICATION AND TARGETS OF IDENTIFICATION

This chapter examines the tenuous bond between volunteers and non-profit organizations through the concept of *identification*. Scholars broadly define identification as the alignment of one's identity with something in the social scene (Cheney, 1983). Identification is grounded in social identity theory (Tafjel & Turner, 1985) and can also be defined as "the perception of oneness with or belongingness to some human aggregate" (Ashforth & Mael, 1989, p. 1989). The definitions of identification show how important the role of context is in the identification process. There must be a social setting for which individuals can construct identifications. Largely, organizational communication scholars look at how individuals identify with *organizations*. However, identification is not limited to organizations, but individuals can identify with roles, social groups, tasks, and even other individuals. Scholars refer to these focal points of identification as *identification targets* (Scott, 1997; Scott & Stephens, 2009).

The oneness that is formed between an individual and an identification target (Scott, 1997) is expressed and constructed in communication (Scott et al., 1998). The process of identification is "largely symbolic and is shaped by both by individuals and the social contexts of which they are a part" (Scott et al., 1998, p. 299). In other words, identification is constructed in and through communication. As individuals interact in social spaces and organizations, these individuals will express communication about various identification targets and also begin to align themselves with these targets in the ways they communicate about them.

Communicative Approach to Identification

Identification is both a symbolic and active construct that should be analyzed as a communicative process. The reflection upon one's identity and the communicative enactment of it are active processes of identification (Scott et al., 1998). A communicative approach to identification means that individuals use their language, conversation, and interaction to construct a particular identification. Scholars have noted a number of different ways that processes of identification are enacted in communication. For example, when an individual evokes the use of the pronoun "we" in reference to something the organization accomplished, he or she is using communication to identify with the organization (Cheney, 1991; DiSanza & Bullis, 1999). Similarly, conversations between individuals—topics, language used, and participants—can be "enactments of identity" (Hecht, 1993, p. 78). Complimenting an organization has been argued to be an example of identification in communication (Kaufman, 1960). Although it is often said that identification occurs in "micromoments" of conversation and interaction (DiSanza &

Bullis, 1999, p. 350), few studies seek out the bits of communication and language that constitute identification processes. Communication is both the means through which identifications are produced, and the representation of identification in a social setting (e.g., Scott & Stephens, 2009).

Additionally, it is important to recognize that identification is enacted as a *process* in that individuals are not inherently identified with an organization or identification target upon entering an organization, nor are identifications static once present. Instead, individuals use communication and interaction to develop identification with some social collective. Kuhn and Nelson (2002) describe this process: "Identification, however, is a discursive process implicating, shaping, expressing, and transforming identity structures that occurs during coparticipation in coordinated (i.e., organizational) activity" (p. 7). The active nature of identification refers to individuals shifting identifications from one organizational target to another. Kuhn and Nelson (2002) found that individuals who participated in "routine work" (p. 29) and were more central in an organizational communication network were exposed to more identification targets. As a result, these individuals managed their identifications in a similar pattern of interaction and communication. The active nature of the identification process shows that individuals can manage multiple identifications, switch identifications, and construct new identifications.

Identification, therefore, is a communicative process. The process of identification is important in understanding how individuals bond with organizations and various organizational targets. The context of the organization matters in studying identifications processes of organizational members. The identification processes of organizational

members who are paid employees may be unique to those who are volunteer workers. The nature of a paid employment contract carries certain expectations for the employees (Rousseau, 1990). The employees are expected to be on time, participate in events, and for their work they will receive a pre-determined remuneration. The volunteer contract, however, is much more lucid than the paid employee contract. Since volunteers are working on their own time, have the freedom to leave, and interact with the organization differently (Ashcraft & Kedrowicz, 2002), it is likely that the ways in which volunteers construct identifications is different than that of paid employees. If organizational identification is an oneness and belongingness with an organization (Ashforth & Mael, 1989), and members have different relationships and interactions in organizations (Gossett, 2002; Kuhn & Nelson, 2002), then it is reasonable to expect, and important to examine, whether processes of identification differ for volunteer members of non-profit organizations.

Overall, the findings presented in this chapter provide evidence for a spectrum of identifications among volunteers for a non-profit organization. The data show that volunteers construct multiple, and sometimes competing, identifications. The remainder of the chapter articulates the identification targets and processes of volunteers at SPD. The data provide insight into how liminal members of organizations—those who exist between organizations or social collectives (Zabusky & Barley, 1997)—construct identifications with an organization. The findings of this chapter establish a starting point for examining additional issues related to identification in the following chapters: disidentification in a volunteer organization (Chapter 4), identification and dirty work

(Chapter 5), and managing disidentified volunteers (Chapter 6). This chapter begins with a brief review of the literature on volunteer membership and identification. Next, I discuss the specific methods used to analyze the data from the volunteers at SPD. After reporting the findings, I conclude with a brief discussion on the implications of studying identification of volunteer members.

Identification of Volunteer Members

The identification of volunteers is important to study because volunteers represent a distinct type of organizational member who work of their own will and without pay (Handy et al., 2000; Musick & Wilson, 2008). Recent generalizations about volunteering suggest that changes in volunteering habits may be the direct result of deviations in the level of commitment between volunteers and the organization in which they work (Lewis, 2012; Lewis 2013). Volunteering is not a singular activity representing a specific relationship an individual has with an organization, or standardized practices of work. There are numerous types of volunteering— including episodic volunteering, virtual volunteering, corporate volunteering, and voluntourism (Lewis, 2013). Because identification is shaped by one's organizational environment, the existence of different forms of volunteering raises the possibility that different forms or identification and disidentification may be present in volunteer-organization relationships.

For example, episodic volunteering is defined as volunteering for a short period of time once or twice a year. Instead of volunteering once a week for an hour at a homeless shelter, an episodic volunteer would volunteer at two different homeless shelters, all day, two times a year. Similarly, many universities promote campus-wide volunteering

programs that encourage students to volunteer for one day or weekend a year. Episodic volunteering pulls volunteers away from consistent interaction with non-profit organizations and makes it difficult to create a strong long-lasting bond between the organization and the volunteer. Research has shown that the longer an employee has been at an organization, the stronger his or her identification is with the organization (Barker & Tompkins, 1994). It is reasonable to suggest that episodic volunteering may limit a volunteer's ability to identify with an organization. The change in volunteering through volunteer patterns and practices such as episodic volunteering call for further research into how volunteers identify, or not, with a non-profit organization for which they volunteer.

A volunteer's identification with the organization is not the only bond that can be formed between a volunteer and his or her volunteer work. Scott and Stephens (2009) found that volunteers working at an art performance center identified with the organization, the organizational community, and performing arts in general. The authors refer to the different sources of identifications as different "identification targets" (Scott & Stephens, 2009, p. 375). The presence of multiple identification targets shows that organizational members may not always identify in terms of the organization, but instead with another aspect of the work. In the literature, scholars have suggested that individuals are able to identify with an occupation, position, organization, profession, department, union, work, individual, project group, task group, reference group, and hierarchy level (March & Simon, 1958; Scott, 1997; Scott et al., 1998; Simon, 1976; Zabusky & Barley,

1997). The vast number of identification targets suggests that individuals can identify with many different aspects of the organization.

In addition to having multiple targets of identification, individuals can also combine multiple identities together. For example, Kramer, Meisenbach, and Hansen (2013) studied volunteers in a community choir and found that the different identifications of volunteers are merged and nested into a unified identification. The authors posit that volunteers in the choir identified with the "organization, an occupation or specific activity, and the general activity," but that "these volunteers viewed identification as a more global synthesis of all three" (Kramer, Meisenbach, & Hansen, 2013, p. 33). This perspective assumes that volunteers are actively aligning with some aspect of the volunteering, such as their sense of belonging or the people with whom they volunteer. Kramer and collegues (2013) explain that the primary reason for the unified identifications of choir members was based upon the nature of the work. The members of the choir were central to the output of the work, in this case a choral performance. However, the authors (Kramer, Meisenbach, & Hansen, 2013) contrast this with more peripheral members of an organization—ushers for an art performance center:

> So, for example, as ushers, they may identify with the general activities of the nonprofit sector and the performing arts organization they serve most of the time, but they may not identify with a particular performance group. Since their volunteer work does not directly produce a particular performance, they can make those distinctions, whereas the particular performance is the activity of the singers in the current study and so the distinctions are not easy to maintain. (p. 33)

The work of Kramer and colleagues (2013) and Scott and Stephens (2009) highlights the complex nature of volunteer identification. These studies help scholars to better understand how volunteers identify with organizational targets and also introduce the importance of context to the identification process. The previous studies highlight the fragmented, multifaceted, and shifting nature of identification (Larson & Pepper, 2003; Kuhn & Nelson, 2002; Scott & Stephens, 2009). In the following section, I introduce various types of identifications that help scholars to understand different ways in which individuals identify, or do not identify, with various organizational targets.

Types of Identifications

The general perspective on identification, specifically organizational identification, is that it is advantageous for both the organization and its members to have members with strong identifications with the organization. Scholarship indicates individuals who identify with the organization for which they work have longer tenure (Scott, 1997), higher commitment to the organization (Riketta, 2004), higher levels of motivation (van Knippenberg, 2000), and higher levels of job satisfaction (van Knippenberg & van Schie, 2000). However, despite the benefits of having members with high organizational identification, research has largely overlooked those who do not express high levels of organizational identification. This study extends research on identification by exploring how those organizational members who are in more peripheral positions in the organization—such as volunteers—identify with organizational targets at a non-profit organization. In doing so, this work helps to better delineate the scope of extant theories regarding the relationship between organizational identification and work.

The following section outlines three realms of identification research that are often overlooked by scholars studying identification. By explicating liminal identification, broken identification, and disidentification, I show how organizational members construct not only, not only organizational identification, but also various types of identifications.

Table 3.1 Types of Identification Definitions

Identification	*"Social identification, therefore, is the perception of oneness with or belongingness to some human aggregate."*	Ashforth & Mael, 1989, p. 21
	"Identifications—with organizations or anything else—is an active process by which individuals link themselves to the social scene."	Cheney, 1983, p. 342
	"*Identification refers to a person's feeling of oneness with some larger collective."*	Scott & Stephens, 2009, p. 371
Structurational/Situational Identification	*"Thus, we seek to offer a middle-range theoretical and heuristic framework for understanding better how organizationally related identities and identifications serve to structure one's experience, how they become meaningful in action, how they are evoked situationally, and how they relate to one another and to some sense of an overall identity."*	Scott, Corman, & Cheney, 1998, p. 300
Liminal Identification	*"Liminal people are neither quite in nor quite out; they are 'betwixt and between'"*	Zabusky & Barley, 1997, p. 370.
	"'Betweenness' is critical to the understanding and experience of liminality; by definition, liminality is about being unlocatable and indefinable."	
Broken Identification	*"When sensebreaking fails, members are likely to break their identification and thus deidentify. Interviews with non-members suggest that the primary reason for their lack of identification was that they either never had or never stopped feeling 'uncomfortable' with their current lives and thus no longer wanted to pursue their dreams."*	Pratt, 2000, p. 477
Ambivalent Identification	*"For some distributors, mostly inactive ones, the quality of their identification was ambivalent, torn by contradictory thoughts, feelings, and behaviors (Freud, 1950; Merton, 1976; Weigert & Franks, 1989). Members with ambivalent attachments alternatively move toward, away, or against their organizations."*	Pratt, 2000, p. 479-480
Disidentification	*"Social identities and self-concepts are defined by the groups or organizations from which they perceive their identities to be separated."*	Elsbach & Bhattarcharya, 2001, p. 394
	"Unlike deidentification in which there is no connection with the organization, disidentification occurs when one identifies one-self in opposition to the organization."	Pratt, 2000, p. 478
Deidentification	*"No connection with the organization."*	Pratt, 2000, p. 478

Note: While this list is lengthy, it is not exhaustive on the different types of identifications. Dailey, Treem, and Ford (in press), for instance, found empirical evidence for *pseudo-identification* where workers had to fake identification with the organization.

Liminal Identification. Numerous scholars recognize that workers can enact forms of identification other than traditional organizational identification. For example Zabusky and Barley (1997) argued that individuals who are not easily aligned with established professional roles might experience *liminal identification* (Zabusky & Barley, 1997). Liminal identification refers to the identification of members who exist on the periphery of the organization, community, or team (For a description of each type of identification, see Table 3.1). For example, Zabusky and Barley (1997) found that space scientists struggled to maintain a professional and organizational identity and thus, constructed identities that existed on the periphery of both the organization and the profession. Instead of finding this to be a problem for the scientists, Zabusky and Barley (1997) recognize the benefit of these identities:

> At least some industrial scientists not only work betwixt and between fixed communities, but possess liminal identities and even enjoy the ambiguities of such a position and its attendant lack of affiliation. They are not all necessarily, as the literature suggests, conflicted and troublesome boundary spanners. (p. 397)

The inevitable boundaries that exist between a volunteer's work, life, and volunteering may also create similar constructions of liminal identifications. Volunteers may find themselves in the *betweenness* of the organization they work for and the organization where they volunteer. Scholars have more explicitly identified volunteer work as a "third-place" in the lives of volunteers (Ashcraft & Kedrowicz, 2002). Volunteering, in other words, is third on the priority list after life and work. Kramer's (2011) work discusses liminal-ness in terms of the multiple memberships of volunteers in work, volunteer, and

social organizations. To negotiate these memberships, volunteers must balance life, work, and volunteering. The complexity of multiple memberships and liminal positions influences the identifications of the volunteers: "Volunteer activities and identifications are often interspersed with one's other activities and identifications, and this intermingling may be harmonious or contentious depending upon the individual and circumstances" (McNamee & Peterson, 2014, p. 5). The positioning of a volunteer as neither a full member of one organization, but rather a partial member of more than one, places volunteers in a liminal space and place in regards to volunteer organizations. This positioning could lead to liminal identifications that create distance or reinforce distance between the volunteer and the non-profit organization.

Broken Identification. Another potential form of identification *is broken identification*, which describes the process in which an organizational member completely separates their identity from the organization or breaks the identification completely from the organization (Pratt, 2000). This broken identification may occur as a result of a lack of motivation to continue to be a part of the organization. Similarly, organizational members can also have *ambivalent identifications* (Hayashi, 2013) where their minds are "torn by contradictory thoughts, feelings, and behaviors" (Pratt, 2000, p. 479) and as a result they "move toward, away, or against their organizations" (p. 480). This "movement" refers to shifting identifications of the organizational members. Organizational members were found to identify more with organizations at certain times than at other times. Pratt creates a theoretical model that connects employees' identifications with their ability to make sense of their *ideal selves*. Volunteer work is

similar in that volunteers are often motivated by values and altruism that inevitably brings personal satisfaction when those motivations are achieved (Clary & Snyder, 1991).

Disidentification. The final and most relevant conceptualization of identification is *disidentification*. Put simply, scholarship positions disidentification as the antithesis of organizational identification. Elsbach and Bhattacharya (2001) explain that individuals express disidentification when "social identities and self-concepts are defined by the groups or organizations from which they perceive their identities to be separated" (p. 394). Pratt (2000) describes disidentification as a contrast to ambivalent identification: "Unlike deidentification in which there is no connection with the organization, disidentification occurs when one identifies one-self in opposition to the organization" (p. 478).

Thus, in a volunteer setting, disidentification would exist as a process in which volunteers build or maintain their distance from the organization. Volunteers are in a position where they can actively disidentify with the organization without many consequences on their volunteer work. For instance, a volunteer working for a mentor program with kids may actively speak against or avoid interacting with the organization, while still doing the work and focusing on spending time with the child.

To date, the research on identification suggests that (a) organizational identification is beneficial for both the organization and the member (Riketta, 2005), and (b) organizational members identify with various targets of identification (Scott & Stephens, 2009). Given these findings, it is unclear how volunteers might construct identifications when these volunteers work a peripheral position in organizations, in

which potential benefits differ for individuals, and broader targets of identification exist compared to those in more tradition work settings. To advance understanding in this area the present study offers the following research questions:

RQ1: How do volunteers construct identifications as peripheral members of an organization?

RQ2: What targets of identification do volunteers align themselves with in the organization?

METHODS FOR IDENTIFYING IDENTIFICATIONS OF VOLUNTEERS AT SPD

To answer the research questions concerning identification of liminal members of an organization, I decided to study volunteers who worked at an animal shelter, Saving Pets Daily (SPD), in the large city of Metropolis (pseudonym) in the Southern United States. SPD is an established animal shelter and uses volunteers on a daily basis to fulfill a variety of work tasks from marketing animals to cleaning dog kennels.

SPD has two locations, but mainly operates out of its Kentfield location. Kentfield is located in the center of the city and contains three areas of kennels, two catteries, a medical clinic, and three small buildings with offices (see Figure 2.1). SPD, at any given time, has more than 500 active volunteers who foster animals, walk dogs, clean catteries, market the animals, apply for grants, manage teams, lead volunteer groups, and do other specialized or non-specialized work at the organization.

Participants for Identification Analysis

The participants in this study worked in a variety of different roles at SPD. To look at the liminal membership of these volunteers, I wanted to research a wide range of

volunteers who were involved in varying levels of participation. In sum, I interviewed 37 volunteers at SPD. The demographic information regarding the volunteers' sex, tenure, role, and outside employment is found on Table 2.1. The majority of interviewees for this study was part of the dog-walking program (n = 20, 54%), female (n = 28, 76%), and had full time jobs outside of volunteering (n = 19, 56%). Even though the volunteers spent most of their time working in one particular area of the organization—such as dog walking—many of the volunteers participated in more than one role at SPD. For example, Marta primarily walks dogs to volunteer, but she also spends her time organizing and leading the dog-walking program. The additional leadership role creates additional responsibility and requires more time from the volunteers.

Data Collection Procedures

I used a qualitative approach to answer the research questions in this study. Since the questions are interested in *how* volunteers constructed their identifications, it was important to research how volunteers talked about their own identifications (Scott et al., 1998) and enacted these identifications. I decided to utilize ethnographic interviews and observations to study the identification processes of volunteers. I sought to immerse myself into the organization to better understand the daily processes, procedures, and interactions among volunteer workers at SPD (Neyland, 2008). The interviews provided the opportunity for volunteers to reflect on their identifications and thus, communicate the "essence of identification" (Scott et al., 1998, p. 305). The observational data allowed me to see how these identifications were enacted in a communicative and interactive manner (Parsell, 2011).

I recruited participants by first contacting the volunteer coordinator. The volunteer coordinator, Lois, had been recently hired and provided me with a few names and email addresses. I contacted those participants and then used a snowball sample from there. At the end of each interview, I asked each participant if they knew of another volunteer who would be available to talk with me. This was the primary way I recruited participants. When the network sampling methods no longer led to new volunteers, I tried a variety of methods to recruit new participants.

First, I crafted an email for Lois to send out to a large number of volunteers. Then, I wrote a message and posted the interview call on an online group page that had more than 500 volunteers who could see the web page. Only two interviews came from an online posting for a call for interviews at SPD. Lastly, I observed the daily work of volunteers at SPD and I introduced myself to some volunteers and then joined them while they walked dogs, cleaned kennels, or took photos.

Through these methods, I conducted 37 formal interviews. The interviews were formal in the sense that I was able to record the interviews using a digital recording device. The interviews almost exclusively occurred at SPD and were often conducted while a volunteering was doing some sort of volunteer work, such as walking dogs. I also conducted informal interviews with four other volunteers. The data from these interviews was recorded with observations in the field notes portion of the data set.

The interview questions focused on the volunteers' experience coming to SPD and their work at SPD. I asked questions about their past volunteer work and also about what motivated the volunteers to continue to volunteer. I asked probing questions (Kvale,

1996) about how close the participants felt to different components of the organization and asked questions regarding the nature of their relationships with various aspects of their volunteer work, including the organization, their colleagues, animals, and SPD's mission. Equally important, I inquired as to how these relationships formed and focused explicitly on changes in their volunteer experience over time. I also asked question that sought to uncover an especially memorable experience or story. I asked participants, "Tell me about a time when…" or "What is an example of that?" if they talked about an abstract idea.

In addition to the interview data, I also collected observational notes. The observational notes were recorded from a couple of different sources. First, I recorded notes as I interviewed the volunteers at SPD. I wrote down any actions the participants did while they were working and also noted what they were wearing and how they handled the animal. The notes from the interviews helped to provide validity for how the volunteers described their work, role, and relationships with others at SPD. Secondly, I spent time observing the volunteers work at the Kentfield site. I recorded notes and listened carefully to any conversations among volunteers and employees at SPD. By observing and recording notes on the work of the volunteers, I was able to gain a reference point for the interview data. Lastly, I observed eight different volunteer orientations at SPD. These orientations lasted two hours per meeting and I recorded notes that identified some of the specific communication that reflects the values of the organization. The observational notes concerning the interactions of the volunteers on site

were valuable in understanding the volunteers' experience at SPD. In sum, I recorded observational notes from 73 hours in the field.

After every three to four interviews, I created analytic memos to record the theoretical connections between my findings and past literature (Charmaz, 2006). Specifically, in these memos I sought to draw connections between concepts present in the data (i.e., interviews) and expectations regarding what one would expect to be related to these concepts. Three memos early in the data collection process played a particularly important role in shaping the remainder of the study. In these memos I noted that all individuals expressed commitment towards their volunteer work and that they actively chose to work at SPD. However, the memos conspicuously revealed an absence of individuals discussing commitment to SPD as an organization. This pattern – individuals strongly identified with the work they performed, but who did not want to identify with the organization fully – was present across the memos. When I encountered this in the data, I went back to the literature to better understand volunteer identification with something other than the organization.

As I thought about that in the following section of data analysis, I started to ask, "Why aren't the volunteers identifying with the organization?" and "Do they construct different identifications?" By asking these questions early in the memo writing process, I was able to "catch [my] thoughts, capture the comparisons and connections [I made], and crystallize questions and directions for [me] to pursue" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 72). The memos established identification as a construct to focus on in ongoing data collection efforts.

Analyzing Interview and Observational Data

After collecting the data, I first coded both the interview transcripts and observational data line-by-line in order to "gain a close look at what participants say and, likely struggle with" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 50). The line-by-line coding allowed me to see some of the variation across the participants' stories and experiences. I utilized an iterative approach to the data where I alternated "between emic, or emergent, readings of the data and an etic use of existing models, explanations, and theories" (Tracy, 2012, p. 184). In other words, as I saw a theme start to emerge across the data, I turned to the literature to see what scholars already knew about that particular subject. I used the software program Atlas.Ti to organize and analyze all of the interview transcripts and field notes.

After coding the data line-by-line, I began to scan over the entire data set looking for similar codes that fit together theoretically. For example, codes such as 'organizational identification' and 'identification with the mission of SPD' emerged in the initial open coding phase of the analysis. After seeing identification emerge from the data, I drafted memos to note any surprising components regarding the identification of the volunteers (Charmaz, 2006). For example, I noted that the volunteers identified with multiple identification targets. I used constant comparative analysis to compare these targets across the interview participants. This comparison technique served as a validity check for the four identification targets that emerged from the data: the organization, mission of SPD, social component of volunteering, and the animals at SPD.

The subset of the data that specifically focused on identification became particularly interesting. After the initial coding process, I began to combine codes into larger categories. This axial coding process allowed me to see how codes related to one another in the data (Charmaz, 2006). For example, the data showed how volunteers identified with multiple organizational targets—certain foci of their identification—in addition to the organization. Each of these targets of identification contained sub-categories that help to make up the target. For example, some volunteers identified expressed that they primarily identified with roles where they were working with people. It was important to them that they volunteered to help people at SPD. Text segments noting this were initially labeled 'role identification,' but comparison of data within this code during a process of axial coding (Charmaz, 2006) resulted in collapsing this material into the larger category of identifying with social component of volunteering. This move not only provided both more distinctiveness to the codes, but the axial codes more accurately represented the data in its totality.

The axial coding process helped to move past the descriptive codes and look at how the codes relate to one another (Charmaz, 2006). As initial codes regarding the motivation, values, and identity of the volunteers formed, I went back to the literature and saw that these are elements of the broader idea of identification (Gossett, 2002; Scott & Stephens, 2009; Tornes & Kramer, 2015). Accordingly, I then started grouping codes together around the identification targets. Additionally, at this phase, types of identification started to emerge in the data (i.e., *disidentification, broken identification*).

I also analyzed all of the field notes, which allowed me to see how the volunteers enacted their identities in the work they did. I recorded social interactions among volunteers and employees, as well as how the volunteers handled the animals during work. The observational data helped me to understand how the volunteers enacted various identifications at SPD. For example, past research has shown that collective symbols and artifacts may be a way to foster identification among organizational members (Gossett, 2002). Therefore, I noted any symbols or signs—such as SPD t-shirts—that could potentially represent the overlap, or consubstantiality (Cheney, 1983a; DiSanza & Bullis, 1999), of the shared identity of the volunteers. The observational notes provided key insight into the enacted identities of the participants.

MULTIPLE IDENTIFICATIONS OF VOLUNTEER MEMBERS AT SPD

The analysis revealed several aspects of volunteer identifications. First, there was some form of identification from each volunteer. In other words, volunteers identified with *something* at SPD. This aligns with prior research that suggests the presence of multiple identifications and shifting identifications (Kramer, Meisenbach, & Hansen, 2013; Scott, 1997; Scott & Stephens, 2009). This also helps support the face validity of the identification categories inducted, as a lack of any identification with any aspect of volunteer experience might indicate that elements were not captured in the interviews or coding.

Secondly, some participants expressed some form of disidentification toward the organization, other volunteers, or the subject of the work. This final finding is interesting within a volunteer setting considering that these individuals are free to exit the

organization at any point, but remain and continue to disidentify as they work. Chapter 4 of this dissertation shares the findings concerning the disidentification of volunteers at SPD. The following section outlines the detailed findings concerning the identification of volunteers at SPD. The data show that volunteers identified with various identification targets and enacted these identifications in various communicative behaviors.

Volunteers Exhibit Organizational Identification with SPD

The data show that some of the volunteers at SPD aligned their personal identity with that of the organization (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Cheney, 1983a). The volunteers at SPD expressed this identification through talk about the decisions of SPD, management, the brand, or the overall organization. SPD, the organization, is distinct from the roles the volunteers participate in because those roles are often performed as individuals or as a team. The organization, however, is a unique entity and is its own target of identification for which the volunteers may identify. The participants expressed organizational identification through: (a) expressing knowledge about SPD, (b) bringing SPD into personal life, (c) nonverbal communication, and (d) distinguishing communication.

Identification as knowledge about SPD. The first way volunteers at SPD communicated organizational identification was through sharing the knowledge they had about SPD prior to joining the organization. Knowledge about the organization exhibited a pre-interaction identification with the organization. Jablin (1987) describes this as anticipatory socialization, but this also reflects a "state of readiness" (Stephens & Dailey, 2012) to identify with the organization. Blake had volunteered for other animal shelters in

the region and knew about SPD generally, but was impressed by the organization even before he started volunteering at SPD. He said:

> We [his wife and him] knew a little bit about them [SPD] and we knew, I mean, at that point in time they were doing almost 3,000 adoptions with no building. And we said, 'How in the hell can anybody do this? They must know something.'

For Blake, the identification process began with his knowledge about the organization. Blake expressed a curiosity for the work of the organization before he started volunteering. This connection between knowledge and identification was expressed by another volunteer, Miranda, who moved to Metropolis recently and was impressed by the professional nature of SPD. She said:

> So I had known about Saving Pets Daily and I actually remember that when I started checking them out more, I was floored, because I thought they were a much larger organization and an older organization, a more mature organization, because I think their branding is really good and they're out there a lot…It looks fun and positive and well done, professionally done, a lot of it, which is kind of what made me think, 'Oh, this organization has its act together.'

It is important to note that Miranda has work experience in the non-profit sector and her evaluation of the organization comes from her knowledge about how non-profit organizations function. The initial impression and positive sentiment toward SPD laid the foundation for alignment of her personal identity with SPD. In a similar vein, Eva knew about SPD from previous interactions before volunteering with SPD. She said, "I had read about SPD and had – was on their newsletter list and had been getting information

throughout the '90s I think." Eva came into the organization with knowledge about the mission, goals, and general purpose of SPD. Knowing about an organization before officially joining the organization has been found to foster greater organizational identification (Stephens & Dailey, 2012). The strong organizational identification found in the volunteers at SPD was largely are result of the knowledge these individuals had before becoming volunteers.

Identification through bringing the organization into personal life. Many of the volunteers who expressed organizational identification brought the experiences with the organization into their personal lives. In this way, volunteers aligned their personal lives with the organization by tying the activities, conversations, and work at SPD to their identity outside of SPD. One way in which volunteers accomplished this goal was by including their volunteer work in their professional work. Not all volunteers had full-time jobs, but some of the volunteers who work full-time integrated SPD into their work. For example, Julius was able to bring his volunteer work into his classroom full of junior high students. Julius described what he did when he said:

> And so in my classroom, I'll put up my SPD 'littles' with pictures of all of them, and when they get adopted I take a picture down and the kids get all excited about it. So I put up another one and they want to know all that I know about the dog.

Julius' "littles" refer to specific animals that he personally walks and trains at SPD as part of the "Dog Mentoring Program" (pseudonym). The integration of volunteering into his place of work reflects the intertwining of the organization and his identity.

Another way in which volunteers expressed their organization identification was by prioritizing volunteer work over their professional jobs. Krista, a human resource professional, communicated with her manager at work about her need to leave work a little early on certain days of the week. She said:

> As stuff comes up that I need to handle for SPD for bios [biographies] and stuff I just do them at work. It doesn't – it's not like I'm sitting there for four hours at work doing it. It's 20 minutes at a time or something and I haven't had a problem so far.

By performing volunteer functions at work, the volunteer work enters the professional world. The integration of Krista's volunteer work and professional work shows the value she places on volunteering and this contributes to the development of her volunteer identification. Additionally, Krista mentioned that her co-workers and boss understand her volunteer work and will even schedule their meetings around Krista's volunteer schedule. She said, "Everybody at work knows that on Tuesdays and Fridays I'll be in a meeting and I'm like, 'I gotta go. Sorry, I have to teach a [dog training] class tonight. See you guys later.'" By leaving work early to come to SPD, Krista, demonstrates how volunteering was not something done outside of her other commitments, but was integrated into her other identities.

Identification through the consubstantiality of a t-shirt. Volunteers also expressed and communicated their organizational identification through visible symbols such as what they wore at SPD, but more telling, how often they wore SPD shirts outside of the organization. SPD asks volunteers to wear a uniform volunteer shirt each and every

time they come to work. In fact, at the volunteer orientation, the speaker said, "We like you to wear your volunteer shirt while you are here so that we know you are a volunteer. If you need extras, you can buy more for $10 a piece. We are more than happy to do that" (Field Notes, 10/29/15). Volunteers, employees, and inactive volunteers out in the community often wear the shirts that volunteers receive at orientation. Subsequently, many volunteers mentioned seeing volunteers wear SPD shirts out in the local community. The t-shirts represent a sign of *consubstantiality* that the volunteers used as a collective, physical symbol of their identification with the organization (Cheney, 1983a; DiSanza & Bullis, 1999). Consubstantiality is more specifically defined as "a product or state of identification that leads an individual to see things from the 'perspective' of a target" (Cheney, 1983a, p. 146). Julius, who we have already found to be highly identified with the organization by bringing SPD to his work, discussed the importance of the SPD shirt:

> Yeah, everything is, in fact, probably a third of my wardrobe is now something having to do with dogs. And I wear it proudly. It's amazing though. Everywhere you go, people love SPD. When I wear this shirt out, they go, 'Oh, I got my dog from there,' or, 'I love what you guys are doing.' And you look around and you see all the people and the companies who—they really, redid our roofs for us, redid the heating, free of charge, donated washers and dryers.

As much as identity is tied to the clothes we wear (Feinberg, Mataro, & Burroughs, 1992), volunteers selected clothing to represent their attachment and alignment with SPD. Being seen in public with an SPD shirt elicited some pride among other volunteers as

well. Dierdre said, “When I wear my SPD t-shirt out in Metropolis, it’s very recognized and people appreciate the organization and tell me that.” Candice claimed, “Most of the t-shirts I own are SPD,” but she only wears them while volunteering at SPD. One volunteer, Brooklyn, missed the chance to acquire a shirt and felt a sense of loss by not actually possessing a t-shirt. She joined SPD through another organization and was not required to go through orientation, but not having a shirt was something that Brooklyn dealt with as a volunteer:

> Then I just started walking the dogs on the trail a lot. Then I was like, can I do an orientation? I don’t even have shirt. I don’t have anything. I called Lola [volunteer coordinator] and she was like, ‘We can get you a shirt.’ And I said, ‘no, I just want to know what is going on.’ I don’t know anything.

Brooklyn does not pretend that having a shirt makes her know more about the organization or helps her know what to do in her role; however, she uses the shirt to distinguish her feelings of non-membership. She views the shirt as something that any volunteer would have if he or she were a part of the organization. By mentioning that she does not have a shirt, she expresses an outsider mentality.

The wearing of a shirt accomplishes two related tasks. First the shirt is representative in that it signals a formed identification with the organization. Volunteers who identify with the organization wear the shirt proudly in public places. Secondly, volunteers use the shirt as a nonverbal form of communication to say, “I am part of SPD.” The shirt is a signal and symbol in a way that it not only points to identification with the organization, but it also serves to create an overlap between a personal identity

and an organizational identity. This consubstantiality shows how communication, in this case nonverbal communication, exhibits and creates organizational identification among volunteers at SPD.

Identification through distinguishing communication. Another common way participants discussed organizational identification was in terms of comparing SPD to other non-profits or animal shelter organizations. Identification with one organization will be accompanied by talk about how that organization is different than others. Zabusky and Barley (1997) claim that this is necessary for identification: "To say that someone identifies with a collective, therefore, requires evidence of expressions of solidarity with a collective as well as evidence of expressions of difference from outsiders" (p. 371). Some participants volunteered at animal shelters before volunteering at SPD, but others have never volunteered at an animal shelter. Across the participants, it was common to compare SPD to other non-profit organizations and specifically, animal shelters. In doing this, the participants reinforced the distinguishing characteristics of SPD with their own identity.

Participants were confident in the success and uniqueness of SPD as an important and influential animal shelter. Blake volunteered at other animal shelters and was also concurrently active in another animal shelter out of state, but he distinguished SPD from these other animal shelters:

> If you can find a better place, and you find it, I would sure like to know. Because there is no place in America that is doing the job we do with the hard dogs we do it with, with the rate of success we have. There's no one.

Blake emphasized the outcome of the work the volunteers and employees do at SPD, but also shows how SPD compares to other organizations. The distinguishing component of Blake's statements helps show how he and the organization have accomplished something that no other shelter has been able to accomplish.

Other volunteers also compared SPD to shelters that had limited success or productivity. Lonnie said, "So when I came over here [SPD], it was the opposite, you know, cats were flying through the door. They were adopting out more in a week than I saw in a year and a half at the other agency." While Lonnie focused on the productive aspect of SPD in comparison to another shelter, Julius identified with the programs and management of SPD. He admitted that there were closer options to his home than driving into Metropolis to go to SPD. He commuted 40 minutes to come to SPD and he said that it was well worth the drive:

> We have another rescue center in Birch Bay, and it's a lot smaller than this [organization] obviously, and there are all sorts of volunteers. But I'd rather make the drive down here at ours, with the trainings and the socialization and all that stuff.

Again, Julius distinguishes SPD form another shelter by identifying the different programs that are offered at SPD and not at another shelter. What is most important from Julius' comments is that he makes an intentional effort to be at SPD instead of another organization.

One participant, Krista, spent time at another shelter before coming to SPD and experienced some of the shifting identifications that can occur when something is out of

balance. The following exchange shows her attempt to resolve an imbalance between how she identified with one organization, but disagreed with the other volunteers at this organization:

> Krista: I don't want to like badmouth other places but I was at Pet Haven [pseudonym] before this for two and a half years. They did some pretty – I didn't like how they treated the animals that were there so I was looking for a different place to come and I found SPD and I've been here ever since.
>
> Me: Did you know about SPD while you were at Pet Haven?
>
> Krista: I knew of them but only in the sense that the people who ran that organization didn't like SPD so I heard badmouthing only. I didn't really know what they did and I kind of decided to look into it a little bit more for myself.

The way Krista positions her experience at Pet Haven is telling of her identification with SPD. She separates the two organizations by "how they treated the animals" and also by carefully navigating the idea that she is badmouthing her previous organization that badmouthed SPD. This shows how she is now "in" with SPD and disidentifying with Pet Haven.

The data show that some of the volunteers at SPD identify with the organization. They constructed these identifications by expressing knowledge about SPD prior to entry, bringing SPD into personal life, using nonverbal communication, and distinguishing SPD from other organizations. However, the organization itself only accounts for one of the targets of identification for volunteers at SPD. The data show that the volunteers also identified with the mission of SPD.

Identification with the Mission of the Organization

The mission of an organization has been characterized as "the corporate version of an ego ideal, a standard by which the corporation is supposed to measure itself and emulate, and whose demand for perfection it should strive to fulfill" (Fairhurst, Jordan, & Neuwirth, 1997, p. 243). Although non-profit organizations are rarely considered 'corporate' entities, the mission of a non-profit organization encompasses the values, purpose, and meaning of an organization's existence. Missions are described as "the heart" of non-profit organizations' identities and are important for understanding the overall performance and effectiveness of a non-profit organization (Lewis, 2005, p. 251). The mission is an important component to non-profit organizations and there is evidence that members of non-profit organizations, such as volunteers, understand and acknowledge the mission of the organization better than members of for-profit organizations (Light, 2002). The past research on the uniqueness of the *mission* highlights the possibility of the organizational mission as a unique target of identification for volunteers. Instead of identifying with the organization, some volunteers at SPD expressed a deep awareness of the mission of SPD and its implications on their work.

Given the importance of the mission of non-profit organizations, it might be possible for volunteers to identify with the mission of the organization *instead* of the organization itself. Upon the inception of SPD, the stated mission was, "To make Metropolis no-kill as fast as possible" (Field Notes, 7/08/15). No-kill refers to a specific goal established by members of the national animal shelter community as a standard to which communities would save 90 percent or more of the stray animals in the city or

community. The "killing" part of the mission refers to the common practice of euthanizing young or sick animals instead of medicating and caring for the animals. The great irony is that no-kill actually enables euthanizing 10 percent of the stray animals in a community.

Organizations integrating their mission into the community in which they are located is not uncommon for non-profit organizations (Lewis, 2005). Doing so, however, increases the complexity of the organization's work. For example, SPD's intertwining of their mission with the community requires coordination with city shelters, community members, and animal control specialists. SPD proudly announces in each volunteer orientation that, "In 2011, SPD reached our mission of no-kill. Now our mission is keeping it that way" (Field Notes, 7/08/15). Non-profit mission statements that have clear objectives—such as SPD's mission—provide a measurable marker for success unlike some non-profit organizations (Kanter & Summers, 1987). At SPD, however, the specific no-kill mission adds complexity to how the volunteers support and engage with SPD.

The no-kill mission emerged as a significant theme in the interview and observational data from my fieldwork. There were 111 incidents (i.e., direct references in interviews or communication during work) that explicitly mentioned the no-kill mission at SPD. What proved particularly interesting, though, was the volunteers' ability to separate the no-kill mission from the organization. The data show that some volunteers made the no-kill mission part of their identity. When asked, "Do you share the same values as that of SPD? If so, what are those values?" the volunteers who identified with the mission responded by talking about how important the mission was to them. These

same volunteers also talked about the mission frequently in the interview as an important *part* of SPD. Other volunteers, who primarily identified with the organization, spoke about the decision making of the organization (Cheney, 1983a; DiSanza & Bullis, 1999) or the general management or structure of the organization as most important to their identity.

The most telling evidence of the mission of SPD as an identification target unique to the organization is based upon an examination of the behaviors of volunteers in how they carried out the practice of being a no-kill shelter. Extant research argues that individuals will make decisions as to what they see as appropriate way to conduct work based upon their identifications: "Identification guides decision making by focusing individuals and collectives to perceive or select certain problems and alternatives by biasing choices in favor of alternatives most consistent with identification targets" (DiSanza & Bullis, 1999, p. 348). At SPD, the dog behaviorists still euthanized dogs that were deemed dangerous to the community. The no-kill status represented a 90% save rate of all the stray animals in Metropolis, but that still means that 10% of the animals were euthanized. When SPD needed to euthanize an animal, some volunteers would do everything possible to try and save the animal because they thought that no animal should ever be killed under any circumstance.

The tension between the no-kill mission and the actions of the organization—euthanizing animals—provided a point of departure for some of the volunteers at SPD. Some volunteers sought to save every animal while others expressed an understanding of the situation. The volunteers who sought to save every animal were enacting their

alignment with the no-kill mission of SPD while they were simultaneously voicing dissent against the organization's policies and procedures. Blake summarizes this tension best when he said, "I don't think even SPD goes far enough. I mean, I think no-kill means no-kill. This 90 percent thing is kind of crazy." The data shows that Blake is not the only volunteer who aligns more with the no-kill mission of SPD. The volunteers identified with the mission of SPD by: (a) communicating motivation from the mission, and (b) associating the mission with personal values.

Mission of SPD motivates volunteer identification. The volunteers spoke about what initially motivated them to volunteer, but they also expressed what kept them motivated to continue to volunteer at SPD. The mission emerged as a consistent reason as to how many volunteers were motivated in their work at SPD. The volunteers also distinguished between being motivated by the organization and being motivated by the mission. For example, Miranda said, "I believe in the no-kill mission. I believe it is worth putting your resources into, even something like the kitten program." Miranda mentions the mission and a specific program as deserving of resources, but she does not refer to the organization. Miranda volunteers with the kitten nursery where volunteers and employees work with newborn kittens to feed them and keep them alive during a very vulnerable part of their existence. Most animal shelters and communities are unable to keep hundreds of kittens alive each year due to a lack of resources and volunteer labor. Miranda draws upon the no-kill mission as a source of motivation for performing her work.

The mission also motivated volunteers through their interaction with animals that would have been put down at any other shelter. Since SPD is committed to the no-kill mission, volunteers are motivated to work so that they can work with animals who would not be alive were it not for the no-kill mission. Krista explained how this applies to her work with the dog that she had out when I spoke with her:

> I might be here for, you know, 15 hours a week, but I'm not here with Taffy [dog] often. I mean, I see her 20 minutes each time I'm here and we see how much that does for her. This is a dog who was going to be euthanized at the city shelter because she's so high energy and because she never got out of the kennel. All she needed is a little bit of effort and now I agree with that mission 400 percent.

Krista may not have always been on board with the mission, but the fact that she has seen the benefits of the mission and how she can contribute to the overall mission motivates her to continue to volunteer and be a part of the larger no-kill mission of SPD.

Volunteers associate the mission with personal values. The mission of SPD connected with volunteers at a personal level as well. For example, when I asked Raquel if she had similar values to other volunteers, she indicated that her values were "pretty much the same" as other volunteers and specifically mentioned "everyone's values for getting [sic] the no-kill movement." Raquel talked about the mission at a *value* level in her volunteer work. Similarly, Tabitha described the mission as a shared, personal value:

> So, my personal values – I guess it fits because the way I see it, the organization, obviously, no-kill, we don't want to needlessly kill companion animals if there's a

way that your community can pull together and save them and get them adopted out. So I would agree with that.

In both of these quotes, there is an assumption that all members of SPD would align with the mission of the organization ("obviously, no-kill"). The mission, however, extends beyond just the organization. Since no-kill is a national initiative that was instigated by individuals outside of SPD, some members of SPD expressed identifications with the no-kill cause explicitly. The no-kill mission aligned with volunteers' values and volunteers shared this mission with those outside of the organization. The internalization of the mission into their communication and values shows how the mission was more than just something that the volunteers agreed with or supported—rather these volunteers "believed" and "valued" the no-kill mission.

Identification with Social Groups at SPD

For some of the volunteers at SPD, neither the mission nor the organization aligned with their values and personal identities. Instead, these volunteers discovered that social relationships drew them into the organization and became the focal point of their volunteering. From this perspective, the relationships with other volunteers and employees became part of their volunteer identity. According to past research on volunteer motivation, being a part of a social group draws individuals to volunteer (Clary & Snyder, 1991). Research claims that volunteers are motivated to join non-profit organizations merely for the social interaction (Wilson, 2000). The findings from the present study show that not only were volunteers motivated to join organizations for social reasons, but the social interaction became the central component of their volunteer

experience. Instead of identifying with the organization or the mission of the organization, these volunteers identified with the volunteers and employees at SPD.

Identification through making friends at SPD. Even though social interaction is a primary motivator for volunteers to join non-profit organizations, volunteers at SPD stayed and developed deep friendships that constituted the central meaning of their volunteer experience. For example, Kayla said:

> I think I talk to other people about it in a very—it's been a positive experience for me. So, I made friends through volunteering. That was not what I expected to do. I didn't expect to do that but I did. So, Violet is one of my best friends now. We sort of just lucked into that.

Kayla did not join SPD to look for friends or social interaction. This quote explains how she attaches special meaning to the relationships she made at SPD. In this sense, the social aspect of volunteering has become an important factor in her personal life.

Similarly, Tabitha expressed her relationships in terms of "attachments" that she has made since volunteering at SPD. Tabitha is the volunteer liaison for the kitten program. Her main responsibility is to coordinate the more than 150 volunteers for the kitten program. She bridges the volunteer-employee gap by reporting to the kitten program manager and then communicating instructions and information to the volunteers. She explained:

> I've grown attached to some of the people that are still there and like I say, I believe in what they're doing. I know how much help they need. So, for me now,

> it's more about, I know how I certainly want to see all the baby kittens get saved, but I've become attached to my team.

There are several aspects of Tabitha's quote that demonstrate how her connection to her team is not just a motivation to volunteer, but also an aspect of her identity. First, she describes the relationships she has made as an "attachment." This bond with her team is more pertinent than a mere motivation to keep volunteering. Secondly, Tabitha makes sure to differentiate her attachment with her team from her interaction with the object of her volunteering—the kittens. This distinction serves to separate what is important to her identity as a volunteer and what is not. Lastly, the distinction between the team and the animals show the shifting nature of identification. At one time, perhaps Tabitha was primarily identified with the purpose of her work, but now, she is "attached" to the members of her team.

People people versus dog people. Other volunteers reflected similar ideals as Tabitha and Kayla. In fact, some of the volunteers self-identified as "people people" and not "dog people." For example, Violet said, "People are my passion here. That is why I love leading the groups and the mentoring sessions. I really like it when people change and get a passion for this work." Violet identifies with the people-facing roles as a volunteer at SPD. Similarly, Paulo is the volunteer lead for the matchmaking team that works to pair dogs with adopters. The matchmaker role is one where volunteers engage potential adopters as they walk around to look at the dogs in the kennels. The role is highly people-focused and Paulo said that it is important to have people "who get along with people." Paulo described matchmakers as "typically, the most outgoing folks around

here" and that his team "spends a lot of time just getting to know them during those [mentoring] session."

Brooklyn, a member of the matchmaking team, echoed Paulo's sentiment about the importance of working with people at SPD. Brooklyn came to SPD to initially walk dogs, but she quickly found that she "wanted to be involved with people and interact with people who came here." Her desire to work with people led to Brooklyn's involvement in the matchmaking team where she regularly holds face-to-face meetings and interacts with adopters daily. However, working with others became more meaningful as she became closer with her team. Brooklyn said:

> I don't think I would ever talk to people when I walked dogs so I would get bored. I think it's great. There are so many awesome—it's like a community, once you're in. I think some volunteers feel really lost and don't pull into it and don't want to approach people and that can be hard. When you are actually in the community you feel more comfortable coming and asking questions and it's great.

Brooklyn uses language that echoes some of the research on in-groups and out-groups (e.g., Graen & Uhl-bien, 1995) to describe the community feel that she experiences at SPD. The emphasis on "once you're in" shows that there are those who are not "in" the organization. The attachment to people at SPD is not something that all of the volunteers experienced. In fact, the identification with social groups at SPD was only shared by six of the 38 volunteers I interviewed in this study. Rather, the animals themselves were often the subjects of extreme and strong attachments from volunteers.

Volunteer Identification with the Animals

The purpose of this study is not to extend communication theory into animal-human interaction. However, some volunteers grew attached to animals and this attachment, which was communicated by both the individuals' words and actions, became the sole purpose of their involvement in SPD. In some cases volunteers attached themselves to one particular animal at the shelter, while others expressed a broader focus on a type of experience with animals. The volunteers identified with the animals by communicating their: (a) motivation by working with animals, (b) relational connection with the animals, and (c) stories about specific dogs or cats at SPD.

Identification through motivation by working with animals. One theme that emerged from the data was that some volunteers discussed their motivation to volunteer at SPD in terms of their opportunity to interact with the animals. The animals, not the organization, other volunteers, nor the mission of the organization, was the primary reason for their decision to volunteer. From a conceptual standpoint, the volunteers made the object or subject of their work their primary motivation. Many of the volunteers discussed their motivations by saying, in one way or another, that they were, "here for the dogs." Marta said, "For me, it happens a lot because I'm here for the dogs. That's my most important thing. It's to make sure that these dogs are in a good place, that they're getting walked." Similarly, Kayla, a mentor for new volunteers, frequently asks her mentees whey they wanted to work at SPD. Kayla states, "The most typical answers I get are that they just moved here and they love animals." Another volunteer, Blake, who primarily identifies with SPD as an organization, explained that the employees are

motivated by the animals as well as volunteers, He said, "So the reason they're [employees] doing the job for no pay is the same reason we're down here for a little less pay [volunteers]. It's because you're doing it for the animals. You're not doing it for anything else." The animals, themselves, were reason enough to volunteer at SPD.

The "love of animals" seems to attract volunteers to this particular line of volunteer work, but some volunteers talked about this motivation as something very close to their personal lives. Naomi differentiated her love for animals from her love of people. She said, "I adore them more than people…My main motivation is the love of the animals." Eva echoed a similar sentiment—focusing on the dogs as the reason for her volunteer work at SPD—stating, "I think just a love for the animals goes a long way." Raymond summed up the volunteers' comments when he said:

> You know I think first and foremost, we're all here for the dogs. And no one talks about it. At least, I've never heard anyone talk about it, but everything that's happened recently with the overcrowding, even before fourth of July, which I haven't heard many stories about a lot of pets getting loose over the weekend, from the city side, but all the overcrowding and people get kind of upset about that, because we're all trying to help the dogs.

Raymond hints at some of the complexities involved with the process of identity construction as a volunteer. When volunteering, the subject of the work can become not only a motivator, but also something that becomes part of one's identity. Furthermore, some volunteers expressed deeper relational language than just being "here for the dogs" to describe their attachment to the organization.

Relational connection with the animals. In addition to being motivated by being with the dogs or cats at SPD, volunteers also expressed that working with animals established deep animal-human relationships that fueled their high commitment and emotional attachment with their work. There were some volunteers who fulfilled the "human's best friend" concept of talking about the animals as their friends. For example, Candice volunteered every Sunday and said that, "On Sundays, you just feel like you need to visit your friends." Taking it a step further, another volunteer, Cora, stated that she had "boyfriends" at SPD. She labeled three different dogs as her "boyfriends" and talked about them using terms such as "cute" and "adorable."

While this affection towards animals is not uncommon among animal enthusiasts, the attachment between the animals and the volunteers became quite deep at times. Given the purpose of SPD to find dogs permanent homes, there were times when the deep bonds that formed between the volunteers and specific animals had to be severed due to a dog adoption or transition into a foster home. Marta expressed her closeness to the animals in conjunction with having to see them leave the kennel:

> There's definitely some that I get emotionally attached to, but it is always the happiest day when a dog goes to a home because there's some volunteers, especially now, ones that I find that are very, 'I'm so sad that dog got adopted.' I'm, like, 'You're so sad that dog doesn't have to live in a 4x6 kennel for the rest of its life and now it gets to sleep on a bed?' I get this, 'Oh, I walked that dog a lot, I'll miss it.' Who cares? It gets to have a real life now and not this BS one where they get out twice a day if they're lucky…It just doesn't compare.

Marta talked about her emotional and relational attachment to the dogs, but was able to separate out her emotions from the goal of SPD. Other volunteers were not as able to distinguish between the goals of SPD—training and putting up animals for adoption—and were instead focused on spending time with the animals. Eva said, "I've always felt very, very, very close to animals and very close to dogs and I'm not a people person very much. I'm not a real outgoing person, do you know what I mean?" The relational closeness Eva feels for the animals was the reason she decided to volunteer at SPD more than four years ago.

The observational data also shows that the volunteers had relational closeness with the animals at SPD. Volunteers such as Marta, Arlene, and Raymond consistently spoke to the animals, called them by "pet names," and interacted with them. Arlene had one of the most notable moments when she was playing with a dog named Priscilla. I noted:

> Arlene got on her knees and pretended to play with her. She [Priscilla] got really excited to play. She was on her knees and then raised her hands to the air and somewhat frightened the dog. Arlene had a huge smile, got herself up and then brushed off her jeans. (Field Notes, 10/27/15)

The willingness to play with a shelter dog shows a connection with and love of the animals at SPD. In addition to playing with the dogs, volunteers often spoke for the dogs. Speaking for the dogs appeared to be a way in which the animal and the volunteer formed a connection. At one point, I leaned over to pet a dog and Marta said, "He will eat your face, be careful! 'I want to eat your face' [speaking for dog]" (Field Notes, 7/06/15).

Krista worked with a difficult dog and said, "You can see on her face, 'kill me'" (Field Notes, 6/30/15). Speaking for the dog was a common way to interact closely with the dog. Sometimes the volunteers enacted a high-pitched "doggy voice" when they instructed the dog to do something or asked the dog a question. Also, I recorded multiple accounts of the dog walkers petting the dogs they worked with. Marta, Annette, Arlene, Cecilia, Cora, and Blanca repeatedly pet the animals they walked. However, some volunteers, like Raymond and Violet, rarely pet the animal. I even noted that when walking with Claude that the only physical contact he made with the animal after getting it out of the kennel was that, "He first stuck his hand to the side of the chain link fence and let Buckwheat [the dog] lick his hand—he did not give Buckwheat a treat. He said something like, 'You're a good boy' and then removed him from the kennel" (Field Notes, 12/10/15). Claude's interaction with the dog contrasts greatly with that of Marta who incessantly called the dogs, "baby," "buddy," "good boy," and "bubba." Overall, there were 132 instances where a volunteer spoke directly to an animal as if they were in conversation. These interactions were unnecessary, but showed that some volunteers sought to bond with the animals at SPD.

The observation of the volunteers interacting with the animals shows that these volunteers not only said that they were attached to the animals, but they showed it in their physical action and communication with the animals. The volunteers embodied an identified interaction with the animals. Even in their nonverbal communication, the volunteers constructed identification with the animals at SPD. The volunteers also identified with the animals by telling stories about the animals.

Stories about specific animals. The dog walking volunteers have the freedom at SPD to take out any dogs that they are qualified to take out, stay as long or short as they want, and spend as much time as they want with a specific dog. The result of the freedom the volunteers possess is the formation of bonds with particular animals at SPD. For some volunteers, they joined SPD as the result of a singular animal. Nettie works as the volunteer liaison for the catteries at SPD, but started volunteering after she adopted a dog from SPD. She expressed her attachment to a specific dog when she said:

> He's my emotional support dog. He's my training partner. I've never had such a strong connection and I don't know if part of it is because I know that he was literally a few hours from not being around. I don't know if that makes me appreciate him more or if somehow he appreciates me more but I just felt like I needed to do something to give back and to thank him.

Nettie's quote distinguishes the subject of the volunteer work—the dog—from the mission and the organization itself. She volunteers because of her experience with a dog from SPD. While it is difficult to untangle the organization and the mission from the dog, it is valuable to note that Nettie focused her attachment on the animals.

Similarly, some volunteers joined SPD because they experience the loss of an animal in their life. For these volunteers, the need to be with animals was most important and drove them to volunteer at SPD. This motivation was primarily driven by how the animals could make the volunteers happy, but that focus shifted away from, "I need to be with dogs," to "These dogs need me." One of the best examples of these volunteers was Annette. She said:

> There was a friend of mine her lab had just passed away. She had just had it put down. She was missing him a lot and she volunteered here previously, so it was suggested she come back and walk the dogs. She had done it before and so she started walking the dog Ginger. I came to walk Ginger with her sometimes. She got very attached and she was going out of town. She was, like, 'I am worried about her, what's going to happen?' I did my training to take her out while she was out of town. Then there were just a bunch of senior pink dogs and I have a soft spot for the senior dogs. When she was back, I just kept walking this one senior dog until he got adopted.

Annette was drawn to SPD to support a friend, but then stayed because of her relationship with a specific dog. Thus, the relational closeness afforded by the animals at SPD provided another point of identification and bonding for the volunteers.

Other volunteers connected to certain types of animals at SPD. Lonnie said, "The ones that are the shyer ones or the less adoptable ones are the ones that I tend to make a connection with more." This was a similar theme across the volunteers who regularly had interaction with the animals. Claude, a dog walking volunteer, said that he primarily focused on eight to ten dogs. He said he grew attached to these dogs and had a soft spot for them (Field Notes, 12/10/15). One volunteer, Raquel, found a stray dog who ended up at SPD and only volunteered at SPD because she wanted to make sure that the dog was going to be adopted at some point. She told the story about her initial start with SPD:

> The way that I started volunteering walking dogs was last August, I found a stray that was kind of an abnormal stray, but I found a stray dog in my neighborhood. I

> tried to find an owner. She wasn't chipped. She was nobody's dog. I brought her to the City Shelter and she was really defensive there. She ended up pretty quickly on the euthanasia list. I was working really hard to try and find some rescue that could take her because it was obviously not a guarantee that SPD could pull her. She ended up going to SPD. So I went to work with her when – she was an orange collar when got there. I was basically chasing her through the program. By the time I got to the orange training, she was blue. Then by the time I was ready to take the blue class, she got adopted. It was a good ending for her. That's how I started walking dogs there.

Raquel's experience represents a unique path to SPD, but it is similar to those volunteers who were attached to one specific animal and needed to be at SPD to help one animal. A strong attachment to one animal or a type of animal was a strong theme throughout the data of the volunteers of SPD.

The data revealed four main identifications among the volunteers at SPD. Volunteers identified with (a) the organization, (b) the mission of the organization, (c) the people at SPD, and (d) the subject of the volunteer work—the animals. The data show that, for the most part, volunteers emphasized one of these identifications in their volunteer experience. Figure 3.1 shows a visual representation of where the volunteers constructed their primary identification. The visualization is not meant to say that the participants *only* identify with the nearest target. Instead, the location of the participant reflects the strength of the other identifications in relation to his or her primary identification. The close the number is to the center of the axes, the more the individual

identified with some of the other targets. For example, Rochelle (3) primarily identified with the animals, but she also expressed identification with the social component to volunteering. Conversely, Annette (29) primarily identified with the animals and expressed little to no identification with any other identification targets. Therefore, she is only located in the Animal identification circle.

The map is merely a representation and not numerically calculated or exact in its nature. The primary identification was determined by the emphasis and consistency with which the volunteers mentioned during the interview. Multiple interview questions afford the volunteer to discuss identification. If the volunteer mentioned the same identification consistently throughout the interview, the identification becomes his or her primary identification.

Figure 3.1 Map of Identification Targets of Participants

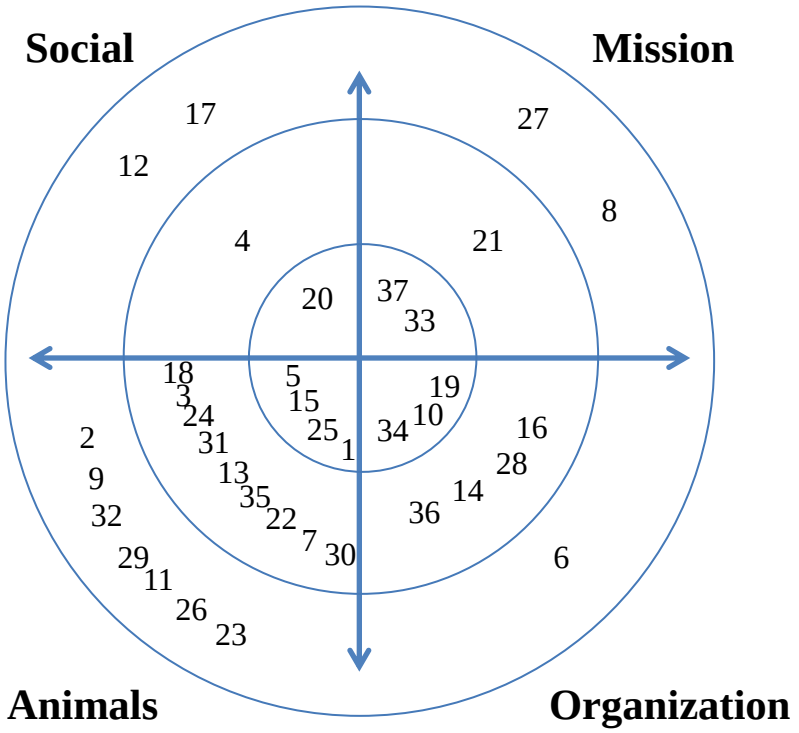

Figure 3.1. Estimated strength and location of identification of volunteers based upon interview data and observational data. Locations not numerically quantified. The numbers match the names in the key on Table 3.2. The closer the volunteer is to the center the weaker the strength of the identification with that target of identification. The farther away from the center indicates a strong identification with one of the targets. The bands provide a visual grouping of individuals who expressed similar strengths with each target.

Table 3.2 Key to Figure 3.1

1. Blanca	11. Nettie	21. Adam	31. Claude
2. Raquel	12. Violet	22. Della	32. Miranda
3. Rochelle	13. Estelle	23. Cecilia	33. Krista
4. Omar	14. April	24. Elaine	34. Candice
5. Monique	15. Arlene	25. Naomi	35. Eva
6. Tabitha	16. Dierdre	26. Marguerite	36. Julius
7. Lonnie	17. Kayla	27. Kathryn	37. Gertrude
8. Blake	18. Marta	28. Delia	
9. Raymond	19. Paulo	29. Annette	
10. Janie	20. Brooklyn	30. Drew	

Note: The names were randomly numbered. This table works in conjunction with Figure 3.2 on page 136.

CHAPTER SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

The findings from this chapter exhibit how volunteers identify with a non-profit organization as peripheral members of the organization. The volunteers expressed identification with not only the organization, but also with the mission of the organization, other volunteers, and the animals at SPD. The findings extend research on identification by showing data from "micromoments" (DiSanza & Bullis, 1999, p. 350) of the identification process. For example, the interactions between the animals and volunteers were recorded and observed as part of the identification process. Additionally, this study extends how we understand peripheral members of organizations and their identification processes. The findings from this chapter have three main implications regarding volunteer identification processes: (a) peripheral members construct varied identifications, (b) volunteers identify with the mission and organization in distinct ways, and (c) communication is central to the construction of identification for volunteers.

First, the literature suggests that volunteers—as peripheral members of the organization—may not identify fully with the organization (Zabusky & Barley, 1997).

Part of this reasoning is that the volunteers may not feel as much of a part of the organization as paid members. Another component to this way of thinking is that volunteers may want to keep a distance from different aspects of the organization knowing that it is only a temporary engagement. In other words, since volunteers know that they might not volunteer forever, they keep a distance and stay out of organizational decision-making (Gossett, 2002).

The findings in this chapter suggest that volunteers construct identifications at SPD, but that the identification process is quite fragmented and involves multiple organizational targets. The fragmentation of identities is often talked about in past research (Larson & Tompkins, 2005; Scott, 1997), but this study enhances scholars' understanding of fragmented and multiple identifications by showing how peripheral members draw upon other identification targets than the organization. Organizational identification is often drawn on as an important part of membership in organizations, but here we see volunteers draw upon other targets of identification.

Aligning themselves with targets other than the organization may be a way for the volunteers to cope with their peripheral-ness. The volunteers are not paid members of the organization and they have a lot of freedom to come and go as they please. The freedom that these volunteers possess may keep them at a distance from the organization. The membership status as "volunteer" could be a barrier to identification with the organization. Instead of drawing upon the organization, volunteers, instead, construct identifications with other aspects of the social scene.

The targets that the volunteers constructed identification with at SPD deviate from traditional identification targets as described in past research (e.g., work group, task group, etc.). At first glance, it seems difficult to understand how an animal could be used to construct identification with volunteers. But, the volunteers consistently referred to the relationships they had with specific animals. The identification target was different than the role or the work they performed. The volunteers only came for some animals and only cared about certain animals. The specificity with which the volunteers identified with the animals was compelling to this project.

Secondly, the role of the mission of SPD as an identification target provided some insight into not only fragmented identification processes, but also exposed fragmented identification targets. The volunteers at SPD clearly separated the mission of SPD from the organization itself. However, it is difficult to untangle an organization's mission from itself. The complex nature of multiple identification targets suggests that these volunteers might be constructing *unified identifications* (Kramer, Meisenbach, & Hansen, 2013) during their work at SPD. The merging of the different identification targets into a singular identification unfairly simplifies the identification process and is not well supported in these data. The findings in this study are strong enough to show distinct organizational targets, but future work should continue to investigate the interrelatedness of identification targets.

The mission of SPD and the organization are clearly related targets of identification, but the mission of SPD and the animals are similarly related. The animals are the main subject of the mission of SPD—to keep Metropolis no-kill. The

differentiating factor that distinguishes the animals from the mission of SPD as unique identification targets relies on the specificity with which volunteers talked about individual animals and also how often the volunteers referred to, "the mission" of SPD. As previous research suggests, goal-oriented mission statements are important for organizational members (Fairhurst et al., 1997), especially in non-profit organizations (Lewis, 2005). The specificity of the mission statement at SPD provides a target of identification for the volunteers, but it also brings into question whether the volunteers are building identifications around the mission, the organization, or the animals.

The mission is particularly interesting because the volunteers could, in fact, leave SPD and maintain the identification with the no-kill mission. If another organization were to uphold the mission in a more efficient way, the volunteers who identify most with the mission may be motivated to exit the organization. As it stands now, alignment with the mission benefits the organization since SPD is the leader in Metropolis on the no-kill movement. However, there could be a time when that changes and identifying with the mission would be detrimental to the organization.

Lastly, this study shows how volunteers construct identities in and through communication. By talking about their experiences, volunteers participated in the process of identification (Scott et al., 1998). The interview data showed how the volunteers constructed perceived identifications. The interviews were part of the reflective process of identification (Scott et al., 1998), but the observational notes allowed me to see the ways in which volunteers enacted identification. The two streams of data help to provide a more complete picture of a complex phenomenon.

Additionally, this study also captured some micromoments (DiSanza & Bullis, 1999) of identification construction. I was able to listen to conversations between volunteers and record notes on how the volunteers interacted with the animals while volunteering. These data are important to validate the perceived identifications, but also show how individuals negotiate and shift identifications in the moment. The data helped to not only hear and understand how a volunteer identified with the animals, but to see how that same volunteer pet, talked to, and cuddled with the animal only validates the identification.

The presence of identification of peripheral members is intriguing in that different volunteers needed very different identification targets. The literature, however, suggests that volunteers in a peripheral position will not only identify with some aspect of volunteering (Kramer, Meisenbach, & Hansen, 2013; Scott & Stephens, 2009), but that these volunteers will also keep the organization at a distance from their identities (Gossett, 2002). The following chapter directly interrogates the presence of disidentification among the volunteers at SPD.

CHAPTER 4: THE COMMUNICATIVE CONSTRUCTION OF VOLUNTEER DISIDENTIFICATION

The previous chapter revealed that although volunteers that work at non-profit organizations exist in peripheral positions, they still identify with the organization in which they work in some manner. Although the targets of identification varied, the data show how the volunteers communicated their identifications by telling stories about their experiences with the organization, and through interactions and conversations with others at SPD. Yet it is not clear whether workers in non-traditional membership contexts or the organizations that manage them should desire organizational identification. For instance, scholars have shown how some organizational members push against organizational identification to maintain distance between the organization and their identities (Gossett, 2002). The research on distancing communication indicates that there may be situations in which organizations may not want highly identified members and some members might not want to identify with the organization. The lack of a desire to identify with an organization is compelling in that the individual and the organization may miss out on certain benefits of having or being identified members.

The goal of this chapter is to investigate whether individuals construct identifications in opposition of identification targets in an organization, and how this orientation is manifest in communication. Previous literature has demonstrated the possibility that individuals may be limited in their ability to identify with organizations and therefore maintain distance from their respective organizations as opposed to seeking identification. Specifically, Gossett's (2002) research on temporary workers found that

part-time employees maintained a distance with the organizations in which they worked because of the short-term nature of their work. The part-time, temporary workers emphasized how they had limited participation in decision-making and were not given the opportunity to provide feedback to the organization (Gossett, 2002). The distance is seen largely as a consequence of, and reaction to, the limited opportunities of workers – the distance exists, and workers choose to maintain that separation.

The research presented in the present chapter extends and builds upon previous work on identification by exploring ways individuals actively disidentify with organization. Theorists suggest that organizational members not only construct identifications, but members also construct disidentifications with organizational targets (Elsbach & Bhattarcharya, 2001; Pratt, 2001). *Disidentification* occurs when an individual's, "social identities and self-concepts are defined by the groups or organizations from which they perceive their identities to be separated" (Elsbach & Bhattarcharya, 2001, p. 394). The root of disidentification is tied to how individuals create sameness and differentiation in the construction of their identities. Identities are formed by how individuals associate with various social groups (Tafjel & Turner, 1986). In the same way, identities are constructed by differentiating from salient out-groups (Steele & Aronson, 1995). In other words as individuals develop associations with one social group, they are also distancing themselves from a different social group.

DISIDENTIFICATION AS A DISTINCT COMMUNICATIVE PROCESS

Disidentification is an active process where individuals construct identities *opposite* of a social entity, organization, or group. Identification processes are considered

foundational in organizational scholarship because any social group, organization, or entity must "have a sense of who or what it is, who or what other entities are, and how the entities are associated" (Ashforth et al., 2008, p. 326). Researching the process in which organization members align their identities with that of the organization (or team, role) is a valuable pursuit so that scholars might understand how and why individuals construct identification and disidentification. While much organizational research has focused on the active process of identification (e.g., Ashforth et al., 1989; Mael & Ashforth, 1989), less is known about how organizational members construct disidentifications in organizations.

Past research explains identification and disidentification through a cognitive (e.g., Pratt, 2000), management (e.g., Dukerich et al., 2002), or behavioral lens (e.g., Kaufman, 1960). These perspectives are valuable in understanding the individual nature of identification, but the present study views identification and disidentification as self-perceptions that are communicatively constructed and enacted constructs (Scott et al., 1998). Instead of focusing on how individuals think about their identification, a communicative lens allows scholars to understand the symbolic meaning behind identification. As organizational members use language and communication in talk and interaction, they are constructing, reifying, and breaking identifications with organizational entities.

The communicative construction of disidentification is a vital part of understanding how organizational members separate themselves from various organizational entities (e.g., mission, role, social groups). In the same way that

individuals express and construct identifications in and through communication (e.g, Scott et al., 1998), organizational members also disidentify from various aspects of the organization and define themselves in terms of what they are not. Learning about how organizational members disidentify will help organizations understand how and why members construct identifications in opposition of the organization.

The present study explores disidentification by researching two types of communication of organizational members. Since identification and identity is a personal perception, the reflective communication concerning one's identity and attributes can be used to study disidentification (Ashcraft & Kedrowicz, 2002; McNamee & Peterson, 2014). When an individual says, "The organization is caring and I am caring" or "I am innovative, just like the organization," they are creating, in their communication, the perception of their identity as being similar to the organization. The second type of communication that is important in studying is the interaction between and among organizational members. If identifications are constructed in communication, then it is important to not only study how members reflect upon their identities, but to also examine how these disidentifications are communicated through interaction with other organizational members, work, and the organization itself. The communicative approach to identification and disidentification is central because, "The story we tell of ourselves in interaction (or posit with respect to interaction) with others is the essence of identification" (Scott et al., 1998, p. 305).

There are two main assumptions in the literature that the present study brings into question regarding identification and disidentification. First, research on identification

has evaluated identification as a binary concept (Gümüş, Hamarat, Çolak, & Duran, 2012; Li, Fan, & Zhao, 2006; Marique & Singlhamber, 2011)—meaning that if identification results in a positive outcome for the organization and a lack of identification results in a negative outcome for the individual and organization. Few research studies have examined the negative impact of identification (for notable exceptions see, Ashforth et al., 2008; Kreiner & Ashforth, 2004) or the positive influence of disidentification on the individual and organization (for notable exception see Gossett, 2002). By examining the concept of disidentification, I argue that disidentification is its own unique concept and that individuals actively disidentify from various organizational entities.

Additionally, I utilize a communicative approach to understand disidentification. I define disidentification as an active process and not a static categorization. Second, organizational communication research largely focuses on organizational identification and neglects other organizational targets (for notable exceptions see Scott, 1997; Scott & Stephens, 2009). The present study examines not only how disidentification is constructed in communication, but it also identifies the multiple disidentification targets of organizational members. I challenge these assumptions to present a more nuanced understanding of the communicative construction of multiple disidentifications.

To examine further the construct of disidentification and its communicative construction, I first review the literature on what is currently known about disidentification. Next, I show how assumptions concerning the identification of where the current research positions itself in the present research on the communicative

construction of disidentification. Then, I will walk through the different findings concerning the communicative construction of disidentification. I will introduce the ways in which volunteers constructed disidentifications with the organization, the mission of the organization, the social component to volunteering, and the animals. This chapter concludes with a discussion on the importance of disidentification and the need to better understand the consequences of disidentification in an organizational environment.

Recognizing Disidentification within Organizations

The concept of disidentification is grounded in the idea that individuals define themselves, in part, through social groups (Tafjel & Turner, 1986). Individuals join groups in which they align with the ideals of the group and they avoid groups with which they do not want to be associated. Social identity theory (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Dukerich et al., 1994; Tafjel & Turner, 1986) describes how individuals categorize themselves based upon their membership in particular social groups. This is important because self-categorization theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987) and social identity theory apply to how individuals define themselves according to the organizations in which they work.

The scant empirical research on organizational disidentification has studied how non-members of organizations disidentify with various organizations. For example, Elsbach and Bhattacharya (2001) studied individuals' disidentification with the National Rifle Association and found that participants' perceptions of the organization's reputation, values and beliefs, and degree of member homogeneity, were antecedents to organizational disidentification. Elsbach and Bhattacharya only looked at the perceptions

of individuals external to the organization. It is not particularly surprising that individuals disidentify with certain organizations from an external perspective. What is interesting, however, is that there may be individuals who disidentify with the organization in which they are members.

Pratt (2000) examined identification and disidentification internal to organizations by studying employees of a large, multi-level marketing organization that had an extremely committed work force. He found that disidentified members expressed frustration with other coworkers, aligned themselves with individuals external to the organization who disliked the organization, and defined themselves in opposition to the organization. Although Pratt (2000) demonstrates that disidentification occurs among organizational members, his research does not address disidentification among members who have no financial incentive for remaining with the organization. Pratt's (2000) work did not find any evidence for a positive relationship between financial success and identification, but the organization in which he conducted research was known for contriving an identity that would help members "attain enough money to be financially independent (have financial "freedom"), to accumulate possessions, to go on vacation and so on" (p. 465). Whether or not the members identified more *because* of this organizational identity is beyond the scope of Pratt's study. However, the role of motivation has been central to research on volunteer organizations (e.g., Clary et al., 1998) and it is plausible that financial motivation plays a role in this study in the motivational aspect of volunteering. Although volunteers do not receive any

remuneration for their work, there are other intrinsic motivations that may or may not be related directly to the organization (Clary & Snyder, 1991).

Disidentification is not, in fact, the *absence* of identification. Rather, the absence of identification is "deidentification" (Pratt, 2000, p. 478). Deidentification means that an individual may have never heard of a social group or has little to no knowledge of a social group. Deidentification is more similar to non-identification than it is a disidentification. It is important for this study that disidentification is viewed as an active process. Deidentification is a static descriptor of an individual who has no knowledge or understanding of a social collective. From a theoretical standpoint, it would be nearly impossible for an organizational member to express a deidentification toward the organization in which they are a part of. The lack of a connection is very different from the construction of an identification that is separate from a social aggregate, or, disidentification.

Instead, identification and disidentification are both active processes (Mael & Ashforth, 1989). Identification and disidentification appear binary in that they both accomplish identity construction through similar processes. Identification constructs identity by saying, "This is who I am." Disidentification creates an identity by saying, "This is who I am not." If an individual identifies with an organization, it is likely that she disidentifies with a different organization. As she takes on the characteristics and values of one organization, she distinguishes herself from another.

The distinguishing and distinctive behaviors are helpful in that, "members' identification is stronger when the group to which they belong can maintain a positively

valued distinctiveness from other groups" (Chreim, 2002, p.1122). In other words, the increase of a members' disidentification with an undesired group or entity may increase identification with the desired group. Studying how organizational members distinguish their identities from other targets of identification will provide scholars and practitioners with an understanding of how disidentification occurs and how disidentification can strengthen identification. Pratt's (2000) work is instrumental in seeing how organizational members construct disidentification from a psychological perspective, but more insight is needed on the ways in which individuals construct disidentifications in communication and how these constructions exists simultaneously in a singular organization.

A Communicative Approach to Disidentification

The binary perspective on disidentification and identification may lead researchers to assume that disidentification is created in the same way identification is constructed. However, this over-simplification leaves out the opportunity to better understand specific communicative behaviors and actions that actively construct disidentification. Table 4.1 shows different conceptualizations of disidentification and also highlights the ways in which scholars have depicted evidence of disidentification. For example, Kreiner et al., (2004) show how a rejection of the organization's culture, deception, and objecting to the organization can be emblematic of disidentification. Similarly, Scott et al. (1998) theorize that any resentment toward the organization would also represent disidentification among members.

Organizational members have also used communication such as cynicism, humor, and irony to distance themselves from high-demanding work in stressful organizations (Casey, 1995) and these same distancing behaviors might signal a disidentification from some component of the work. Dissent is a verbal tool that organizational members, specifically volunteer members, might utilize to construct distinct identities that are separate from that of the organization (Garner & Garner, 2011). DiSanza and Bullis (1999) show how members experience disidentification when the personal experience of a member contradicts the communicated expectations of the organization. In the same study, disidentified members also expressed outward disagreement with the organization's decisions and when they felt like their personal unit was being ignored by the organization (DiSanza & Bullis, 1999). These communicative behaviors are important in understanding how disidentifications might be constructed in communication.

Table 4.1 Theoretical Conceptualizations of Disidentification

	Definition of Disidentification	Evidence of Disidentification	Example from source
DiSanza & Bullis, 1999	"Disidentification is associated with feelings of disconnection, separateness, and exclusion from the organization" p.380)	• Personal experience contradicts the story of the organization • Outward disagreement with organizational decisions • Perception that organization ignored personal unit	"Basically these employees criticized the Forest Service for spending money on things unrelated to the core principle of accomplishment on the ground" (p. 382).
Elsbach & Bhattacharya, 2001	"a self-perception based on (1) a cognitive separation between one's identity and one's perception of the identity of an organization, and (2) a negative relational categorization of oneself and the organization" (p. 397)	• Disidentified with value of organization and then later the organization • Not having the same attributes of the organization • Relational categorizations, "rivals" • Self-perception, not perception of organization	"Our findings suggest that *incongruence* between organizational and individual values may lead not only to a lack of organizational identification, but to organizational disidentification" (p. 399).
Kreiner et al., 2004	"Disidentification occurs when an individual defines him or herself as *not* having the same attributes or principles that he or she believes defines the organization" (p. 3).	• Repulsion of organization's mission, culture • Separates identity • Separates reputation • Lying and deception • Vocal about objectionable actions of the organization • Identifying characteristics that make him or her distinct	"For example, someone strongly opposed to the values and mission of the American Civil Liberties Union may 'disidentify' with that group by espousing the opposite values and mission" (p.3).
Pratt, 2000	"Disidentification occurs when one identifies oneself in opposition to the organization" (p. 478).	• Distant interactions with managers • Manager not recognizing potential • Seek out non-member confidants	"Distributors became 'anti-Amway' rather than simply severing their connection" (p. 478).
Scott et al., 1998	"Disidentification involves identity in that one may define himself or herself in opposition to some target person or group.	• Active perception of difference • Active perception of distance • Resentment toward the organization	"During an especially turbulent time period in one's company, the organizational identity may remain very salient because of all the changes and discussions of them; however, that saliency may serve to highlight disidentification with the organization if the employee resents the changes or the company's attitude toward workers" (p. 316).

The final, and possibly most important outcome of disidentification is its desirability among organizational members. If an organizational member disidentifies with the organization in which it works, there would most likely be conflict and difficulties between that member and the organization. Are there any situations where this may not always be the case? Different organizational memberships, such as temporary workers, have shown that creating distance between the organization and member identities may be advantageous to the identity construction of workers (Gossett, 2002).

Volunteer members are similar to temporary workers in that they may not have the same attachment to organizations as paid employees (Kramer, Meisenbach, & Hansen, 2013; Rousseau, 1990). Volunteers may enter organizations expecting to only work a few times or in short bursts of service (Lewis, 2013). The ways in which volunteering has changed to become less about the organization and more about the work may have distinct consequences on how volunteers disidentify from various organizational targets (Penner, 2002). As volunteering changes, so will the ways in which volunteers identify and disidentify with organizational targets of identification.

The implications of disidentification with certain foci of identification, such as the organization itself, could have significant impacts on the organization and its members. The decision of volunteers to join, and then remain at an organization with which they do not identify is unexpected and requires further investigation. The present study extends these findings by looking at how volunteers of an organization actively disidentify with

the organization while remaining a part of that organization. This study attempts to answer the following questions regarding disidentification and volunteerism:

RQ1: What are the communicative processes used to construct disidentifications, if any, with various targets of disidentification?

RQ2: If volunteers construct disidentifications, how do these volunteers use communication to manage identifications and disidentifications simultaneously?

METHOD FOR UNCOVERING DISIDENTIFICATION AMONG VOLUNTEERS AT SPD

The methodology for this chapter follows closely to the method I utilized in Chapter 3 to investigate the communicative construction of identification among the volunteers at SPD. I approached the data using an iterative approach so that I could inform my data collection based upon the literature (Tracy, 2012). As I learned more about the concept of disidentification, I generated two primary qualities that exhibited disidentification among the volunteers at SPD: (1) when volunteers described not being a part of a group (Zabusky & Barley, 1997), or (2) any statements about identity being separate from an organizational target (Pratt, 2000). The criteria for locating instances of disidentification were helpful in knowing what was disidentification and what was not disidentification.

Collecting Data on Disidentification

Throughout the data collection process, I quickly realized that the volunteers were speaking out against the organization and using communication to create distance between them and the organization. I noted these instances and started to find that most volunteers identified with one aspect of the organization, but disidentified with another

component of the organization. After 5-6 interviews with volunteers, I altered some of my interview schedule to include questions such as, "If you could change one thing about your volunteer experience, what would you change?" and "Are your personal values and the values of the organization similar and/or dissimilar? In what ways?" These questions helped to find where the volunteers did not connect with the organization at a personal level.

In a similar vein as Chapter 3, I also paid attention to the different types of disidentification targets the volunteers constructed at SPD. The literature suggests that volunteers may disidentify with the organization (Elsbach & Bhattacharya, 2001; Gossett, 2002; Pratt, 2000), but I also paid attention to any other potential targets of disidentification. I used line-by-line coding to go through the interview data from the volunteers at SPD (Charmaz, 2006). The close, initial coding provided a base from which I could hone in on any instances of potential disidentification. Some of the first codes that emerged concerning disidentification were "distancing communication" and "criticism of the organization." These codes on their own did not constitute disidentification, but combined with additional communication and observation, these codes comprised the ways in which volunteers disidentified.

Steps of Analysis in Interview and Observational Data

I coded the field notes line-by-line to analyze the specific behaviors, actions, or impromptu conversations that occurred while the volunteers worked at SPD (See Table 4.2 for complete steps in the analysis). Since identities are not only communicated, but enacted in and through work (Ashforth, 2007), I wanted to see how the behaviors of the

volunteers validated or refuted the self-report data. For example, I paid specific attention to how volunteers interacted with other actors in the organization: the dogs (petting, treats, etc.), employees, and other volunteers. This data was useful in confirming or refuting individuals' comments about their experiences because volunteers often referenced opinions about, and interactions with, others at SPD. For instance, if an individual complained about other volunteers in the interview and expressed a preference for avoiding them, but then spent significant time talking with them while working, then I noted this inconsistency in my field notes. This process served as a form of triangulation in the data where I used "different methods to and sources to check the integrity of, or extend, inferences drawn from the data" (Ritchie, 2003, p. 43). Researchers generally agree that triangulation assists in the external validation of the data (Lewis & Ritchie, 2003). The external validation through triangulation provides an additional verification that the concepts interpreted by the researcher are indeed the same experienced by the participants.

After the first round of coding, I engaged in axial coding (Charmaz, 2006) to inspect the relationship between some of the types of communication (e.g., criticism, conflict) and disidentification codes. In the axial coding process (Charmaz, 2006), evidence of disidentification emerged and I was able to see how the communicative behaviors of volunteers were connected to the targets of disidentification. For example, I started to notice how some volunteers were using criticism and voicing dissent toward the organization, but not toward the animals or the work. Although these did not, on their own, construct disidentification, the active nature of the dissent and criticism position the

volunteers in opposition of the organization. The axial coding was helpful in seeing how different code groups related to one another (Charmaz, 2006).

Table 4.2 Stages of Data Analysis

	Data	Analytic Steps	Outcomes
Stage 1	Transcripts of interviews with volunteers	Coding of segments that mentioned distance, comparison, or separation of self from target Coded for communicative moves that positioned volunteers in opposition of some target Organized codes into themes that resulted in the identification of four organizational targets of disidentification	11 themes concerning disidentification communication 4 themes from the data on organizational targets
Stage 2	Field notes from observations	Coded interactions between volunteers and employees	2 themes emerged: conflict communication and separation
Stage 3	Interviews and field notes	Compared disidentification communication with identification	4 examples (Table 4.4)

FINDING THE PRESENCE OF DISIDENTIFICATION AT SPD

The findings in this chapter are organized in the same stages as the analysis proceeded. After reporting the findings, I will provide a succinct synthesis of the findings in light of past research and their relevance in this dissertation. Table 4.3 shows the disidentification targets and volunteer communication at SPD. The data show that volunteers disidentified with four targets at SPD: (a) The following findings section outlines how the volunteers expressed distancing and the essence of disidentification in their communication and interaction with others at SPD: (a) organization, (b) mission, (c) social component, and (d) animals.

Communicating Disidentification with SPD

The volunteers at SPD, expressed anti-organizational sentiments by positioning their identification targets against that of the organization. The volunteers expressed clear communication and behaviors that demonstrate anti-SPD attitudes. At first glance, the thought of organizational members disidentifying with an organization while still remaining a part of the organization would be contradictory and counterintuitive. The findings show that some volunteers distanced their identities from SPD by using two distinct communicative moves (a) comparing SPD to other organizations, and (b) directly criticizing SPD.

Comparing SPD to an ideal organization. One of the most common ways that volunteers distanced themselves from SPD was by comparing it to another animal shelter or to another non-profit organization. For some volunteers who strongly identify with the organization, comparing SPD to another organization was a way to express organizational identification. In a similar, yet opposite manner, volunteers also used comparison to express disidentification. Blake and his partner, Kathryn, volunteered at SPD for more than a year and quickly became one of the more highly involved volunteers in the organization. In addition to volunteering with SPD, Blake and Kathryn also volunteer at a large, out-of-state animal shelter that operates as a sanctuary where animals are never put down. The organization—Animal Asylum—became a constant point of comparison for Blake and Kathryn. In my two conversations with the couple, they mentioned Animal Asylum 40 times in the span of four hours. In one exchange, Blake created some separation between himself and SPD by praising Animal Asylum:

> And they [Animal Asylum] weren't doing it because, 'oh, here's a neat marketing scheme.' They were doing it because they were – this group of people, I mean the thing that makes this story more interesting, they were really kind of a group of creative people and hippies and they had been friends in college and they'd gone out and tried to change the world, and the movement didn't work…You know, Animal Asylum, they were true believers…these were people that would grab an idea and run with it and believe and be compassionate.

The "neat marketing scheme" that Blake mentions is a subtle reference to the emphasis SPD puts on its branding and marketing for the organization. By juxtaposing SPD's branding priorities with "true believers," Blake creates space between SPD and the Animal Asylum. He also makes it clear that he idealizes Animal Asylum in comparison to SPD. The communication is evidence of a movement away from SPD and toward another organization. In this sense, the alignment with something other than SPD, represents a disidentification with SPD.

Table 4.3 Disidentification Targets and Communication at SPD

Target	Communication	Example
Disidentification with the organization	Comparison communication	"There's going to have to be a sanctuary because there are some dogs you can't place in a home and if you don't kill them you have to have a place they can live out their life and not everybody is Animal Asylum." Kathryn
	Criticizing the organization	"I think it's already pretty miserable for me to go every week because I do think I disagree with them on a lot of things. I don't believe the place is that well run." Elaine
Disidentification with the mission	Perception of deception	"I think a source of frustration for me is I – and I think they're [SPD] changing this now, especially after the flooding—that I always assumed they were truly no-kill and they're not." Annette
	Belittling communication	"The no-kill movement is somewhat of a PR move." Claude
	Ideological differences	"The fact that the city is 'no-kill'…would not change my mind on walking dogs." Elaine
Disidentification with social groups	Comparison between groups	"We don't get a lot of people who want to work with dogs and cats. We have a couple, but it's usually people that are either all dogs or all cats." Estelle
	Communicating status differences	"Well, there's a core of really dedicated people here you see here all the time." Eva
	Conflict communication	"We don't agree with the analysis and we don't pull any punches; they don't. I mean you know we say here's what we think and they meet with us and say here's our rationale and we say, "Well, you're wrong." Blake
	Observing separation	The same employee "grabbed a full scoop of ice and tossed it in the wheel barrel. It was loud." She did this all while the volunteer, Xavier, was trying to talk to potential volunteers. Xavier "rolled his eyes and tried to anticipate the next dumping of ice." Field Notes
Disidentification with the animals	Communicating motivation	"Sometimes I think like you know I put my treat pouch on and I see my bracelets, I don't know I probably should come up 30 minutes earlier, come in late but I don't, don't do that." Kayla
	Attributing disidentification to role	"So, they [volunteers] don't have an opportunity to get attached to any one particular litter and they're in a different room each time, anyway." Tabitha

Candice referred to the same organization as Blake and used it to create some distance between her personal opinion on the kennel conditions at SPD. She said:

> I think we have some dogs who have been here a very long time and their behavior issues are so bad that I think we're wasting kennel space. They [SPD] have found solutions to these dogs. One dog went to Animal Asylum, the big Animal Asylum in Hybla Valley.

Candice's perspective shows a weak attachment to the organization and its overall purpose. The organization exists to shelter animals and to save as many animals as possible. Even then, Candice questions SPD's procedures and compares SPD with an organization that more closely aligns with her beliefs.

Criticizing the organization. The volunteers at SPD also communicated their disidentification with the organization through criticism of the organization. Criticism has been argued to be a representation of disidentification from previous research (Kreiner et al., 2004; Scott et al., 1998) and some of the volunteers expressed the same sentiment in this study. Instead, volunteers used criticism to create separation between SPD and their personal identity. Ultimately, the criticism separated what they *identified with* from what they *identified against.* For instance, Annette was concerned about the health of certain dogs that she walked and expressed some of the problems she has with the organization's procedures. She said:

> Kathryn and Blake had even talked about starting a fund that was just for medical needs. Sadie doesn't want to do that because she thinks people will think that the

> SPD can't afford stuff. The thing is, well, if you can then you should be paying for it and if you can't then you should start this fund.

Annette directly criticizes and shows resentment towards the decisions the organization makes concerning the lack of funds towards the sick animals. The direct criticism of the organization, in which she is a part of, shows her identification with the animals and simultaneously creates distance between her identity and the organization.

Elaine also criticized the organization blatantly in her communication and refers to the overall operations of SPD. She shows resentment toward the organization and also criticizes the decisions that are made by the organization:

> I think it's already pretty miserable for me to go every week because I do think I disagree with them on a lot of things. I don't believe the place is that well run. I've wanted to know since I started working for the organization what their long-term plan is. Do they have a plan?

Elaine criticizes the long-term planning abilities of the organization and creates separation between her unstated value—long-term planning—and the absence of long-term planning at SPD. Elaine expresses the tension of remaining as a part of the organization while still disidentifying with the organization. She feels "miserable" and yet she continues to volunteer with SPD.

These examples show how volunteers use comparison communication and criticism to construct identities in opposition of the organization. Organizational disidentification sounds counterintuitive and inefficient for members of an organization. However, the data shows how volunteers communicate disidentification toward the

organization through actions such as criticism and alignment with alternative identification targets.

Disidentification with Mission of SPD

The volunteers also used communication to disidentify with the mission of the organization. Only two volunteers expressed a clear disidentification from the mission of SPD. The analysis showed that these two volunteers disidentified with the mission, but the mission also served as a proxy for organizational disidentification. In the following section, I show how confusion surrounding the mission led to organizational identification. The volunteers express that they felt deceived by the organization concerning the mission. Then I discuss how the volunteers communicated disidentification by expressing ideological differences with the mission.

Perception of deception. The mission of SPD was a point of contention among the volunteers at SPD. Some volunteers aligned with the mission and expressed this perspective during data collection. Other volunteers felt somewhat deceived by the mission. The no-kill mission of SPD is to keep Metropolis the largest no-kill city in the U.S. However, "no-kill," as many volunteers pointed out, is not actually, "no-kill." The mission still allows for 10 percent of the city's stray animal population to be put down for various reasons. Therefore, SPD, at times, must euthanize certain animals for issues such as unwarranted aggression or terminal illness. Volunteers, however, enter SPD thinking that the no-kill mission means that no animals are ever euthanized at SPD or in the city of Metropolis.

Some of the volunteers that disidentified with the mission of SPD disidentified because of the incongruence between what the organization said, "No-Kill" and what the organization did—euthanize five percent of the animals. The disparity between what the organization *said* versus what the organization *did* made some of the volunteers express that they felt deceived by the organization and confused about the mission of SPD. This tension created by the conflicting messaging from the organization created the opportunity for volunteers to make decisions based upon their identification targets (DiSanza & Bullis, 1999). If volunteers disidentify with the mission, they will make decisions based upon the target of their identification. Annette, an extremely active and committed volunteer, was deceived with the label "no-kill."

> I think a source of frustration for me is I – and I think they're [SPD] changing this now, especially after the flooding—that I always assumed they were truly no-kill and they're not. The senior dogs I'm walking because there's some they put down. That does get frustrating because it's a very, like, these three are working with Krista [trainer]. But if they cross that line, they get put down.

Annette aligns her confusion concerning the mission to her disidentification with the organization. The misconception of the no-kill mission was a source of frustration for Annette and influenced her identification, or lack thereof, with the organization. Volunteers also claimed that the organization was not doing enough to uphold the no-kill ideal. In other words, some volunteers thought that the no-kill rate should be 100 percent. For example, Blake said:

> I think the thing that keeps a lot of people there and I think what keeps us there is the mission is the goal. The no-kill thing is important and I don't think even SPD goes far enough. I mean I think no-kill means no-kill. This 90 percent thing is kind of crazy.

Blake aligns himself closely with the mission of SPD, but he uses it to criticize the organization. The organization does not go "far enough" in terms of acting out the mission.

Although most of the volunteers did not outright disidentify with the mission of SPD, one volunteer expressed a clear disidentification by belittling the use of the mission. One volunteer, Claude, described SPD's no-kill efforts as "somewhat of a PR move" (Field Notes, 12/10/15). The mention of a "PR move" describes not only the organization's use of the mission as a potential target of disidentification, but it also belittles the initial creation of the idea of no-kill.

Ideological differences. The second communicative move that one volunteer used to express disidentification from the mission of SPD was by claiming there was a difference in philosophy between the no-kill mission and her personal identity. Elaine acknowledged and knew the no-kill policy, but said that it did not influence her decision to join SPD. She said, "you know, I knew that the city had passed a no-kill policy. Actually, that's not something that was super – the fact that the city is 'no-kill' – whether that was or not, would not change my mind into walking dogs." For Elaine the fact that SPD was a no-kill organization mattered very little on her decision to walk dogs. Her

identification with the dogs is expressed through the disidentification with the mission of SPD.

The no-kill mission serves as a two-edged sword for the organization. While some volunteers are drawn to that mission and volunteer at SPD because of that mission, other volunteers, such as Elaine, disidentify with the mission and focus on working with the animals. To disidentify with the mission at SPD, volunteers belittled the mission and expressed ideological differences. Volunteers expressed that they felt deceived by the mission of SPD and what it meant. The deception between what the organization said it was, versus what it actually meant caused volunteers to disidentify from the organization.

Disidentification with Social Groups at SPD

The data also show that volunteers disidentified from different social cliques at SPD. The volunteers used distancing communication as the means by which they separated themselves from other types of volunteers. The distancing between social groups at SPD reflects disidentification in that groups use communication to reinforce the identity of a group. In the same way, group members will also strengthen their group identity be differentiating themselves from other groups (Hogg & Abrams, 1988). This differentiating process reflects a personal disidentification because the volunteers describe their identities by what social group they are *not* in at SPD. The three primary ways in which volunteers talked about their disidentification with other people at SPD was by: (a) communicating comparisons among volunteer groups, (b) communicating status differences, and (c) the separation between volunteers and employees.

Comparisons among volunteer groups. The first way that volunteers disidentified from other volunteers was comparing themselves to different types of volunteers. The comparison communication showed how not all volunteers at SPD were alike and that these groups had clear identities. In one interaction with Krista and Marta, I was able to better understand the formation of sub-groups at SPD and how members of one group spoke about members of a group they did not want to be associated with in any way. The exchange went as followed:

> Krista: We have – Marta and I always plan the volunteer potlucks that we do, we try to do quarterly, yeah; and there's always events, fund raising events and stuff.
>
> Me: How many do you get to [attend] the potlucks?
>
> Krista: It depends; this last one the cat team planned it or lead and like ten people came. Marta: But usually there's 25 people or so.
>
> Me: How often do those go on?
>
> Krista: We try to do them quarterly; yeah. This last time cat people are always complaining that they're not involved so we're like fine you plan the next one.
>
> Marta: Nobody showed up.
>
> Krista: Only dog volunteers showed up for the cat planned one; so, yeah.
>
> Marta: No more cats involved in planning. No more cat planning. No more cat involvement. No more cats; yeah.

Although the conversation included some sarcasm and humorous jabs at another sub-group at SPD, Marta and Krista wanted to strongly reinforce the division between dog volunteers and cat volunteers. Estelle echoed this division when she described the

makeup of the volunteers, "We don't get a lot of people who want to work with dogs and cats. We have a couple, but it's usually people that are either all dogs or all cats." The default setting is to either be a part of the dog volunteer group or the cat volunteer group. There is little mingling between the two.

The presence of a division between the two groups is undeniable in the organization. The more interesting part is how volunteers described the *other* group and their interactions with the other group. By studying how volunteers distinguish themselves from one group, the anchor points of identification in their own group—dogs or cats—become clearer.

Communicating status differences. In addition to the division between cat people and dog people, there were also more subtle divisions among the volunteers. Some volunteers mentioned a core group of volunteers that was present for long periods of time during the week. Some volunteers referenced this group or were in this group. In either case, the perception was that the *core group was where you wanted to be* as a volunteer. Eva, although retired and different from some of the other core group members, said:

> Well, there's a core of really dedicated people here you see here all the time. You don't see me all the time, but you see me here a lot. And those are probably my closest friends here at SPD and I identify with them a lot and we do socialize and go out to eat, things like that. And that's been really rewarding.

The physical presence of certain volunteers at SPD, and not others, was an interesting theme in the data because not every volunteer was able to be at SPD every day. Some

volunteers, either through retirement or certain financial situations, were able to volunteer as almost full-time employees. Kayla considers this a problem for those who volunteer and have full-time jobs outside of their volunteer work:

> I think that there's also there are some volunteers who, I don't know if they have a full time job like they just sent us a volunteer [page] and [a list of] volunteers who have over a thousand hours. I did the math just because I was curious. It's 166 hours a month that they are doing. I work 160 hours a month working a 40-hour week. So yeah, that volunteer looks really different than I do because I don't know how that volunteer pays their bills but this is how I pay my bills.

Kayla separates her volunteer experience from that of the full-time volunteers so that she would be perceived differently than the full-time volunteers. In doing so, Kayla must distance herself from one group of volunteers in order to establish value in her own identity as a part-time volunteer. Raquel echoed this same sentiment when she talked about the different types of volunteers:

> There's a very tight knit group of people, who volunteer, it seems like every day. It's probably not every day, but it seems like it. I think it's pretty easy for them to form a group because they're all always there. But maybe if there was a way for the less frequent volunteers to know each other more. It doesn't lend itself to being a natural thing because if everyone's going once a week, what are the chances that you're going to hit on the same day? But if there was a way for the people who are there once a week to meet or something, then there might be a

different level of intensity of SPD volunteers that could – I don't know, be more connected.

Raquel appears to not want to feel as disconnected as she does, but she acknowledges the same core group that Eva and Kayla mentioned—the full-time volunteers. Raquel's communication highlights the difference her volunteering capacity (part-time) and those of the core members (full-time) and how this influences her connectedness to others at SPD.

Conflict between volunteers and employees. Lastly, some volunteers used conflict to express disidentification from the employees at SPD. First, some volunteers directly expressed disidentification with employees. Eva directly critiqued the employees by saying, "There are some [paid] staff who I do not like. That's the way it was when I had a job, there were people I couldn't work with and I would just avoid them. That's just the way it is." Eva hints here that she may have a separate identity from specific employees, but overall, she does disidentifies with the some of the employees at SPD.

The second way in which volunteers communicated disidentification with employees was through conflict communication. The observational data also shows multiple incidents where I saw volunteers and employees have arguments and disagreements. The first instance occurred when I came to SPD to interview Marta. She is the dog walking team lead and was in the Carson Building when I first entered SPD. She was talking to one of the dog trainers and was in an intense conversation with him. I wrote, "I walk past Marta in the Carson Building as she was in a disagreement with an employee. I walked on by as it seemed a little tense" (Field Notes, 6/17/15). I was unable

to hear the disagreement between the Marta and the employee, but it was intense enough for me to walk by and wait for her to finish talking to the employee.

Another similar argument occurred while I interviewed Lonnie. I first started interviewing Lonnie at the Briar Oaks location, but then we met up at Kentfield later that day. Lonnie told me before we arrived at Kentfield that there was a small room that was perfect for getting the cats out of the crates to take better photos of the cats. The cattery employee, however, said that he could not use the small room as he had in the past. I noted:

> They were arguing about ways to shoot [photos] the cats…[Paid] staff says that a certain room is not available for photography…It got a little tense, but nothing out of control. There was clear frustration on Lonnie's face. He kept proposing a different idea or way that they could make it work. The [paid] staff member said that it would not work. (Field Notes, 6/23/15)

The communication between the volunteer and employee shows how conflict arose between volunteers and employees at SPD. During the remainder of the time at Kentfield, Lonnie and the employee did not speak again.

Enacted disidentification toward employees. In the conflict between employees and volunteers I was able to hear some of the communication between the two parties. However, there were other incidents where I was able to see the conflict between volunteers and employees at SPD. I observed another conflict between an employee and volunteer after one of the orientation tours. During a tour of Kentfield, one of the volunteers was in the way of an employee who was trying to move supplies with a wheel

barrel. The volunteer offered to move, but the employee "backed over some toys and boxes" instead of simply letting the volunteer move for her. Additionally, the same employee "grabbed a full scoop of ice and tossed it in the wheel barrel. It was loud." She did this all while the volunteer, Xavier, was trying to talk to potential volunteers. Xavier "rolled his eyes and tried to anticipate the next dumping of ice" (Field Notes, 6/28/15). The interruption of the employee and the nonverbal feedback from Xavier revealed some of the contention between volunteers and employees.

Additionally, the observational data showed that employees and volunteers help fewer conversations together while working at SPD. I recorded 20 conversations of volunteers talking to one another, 15 conversations among employees, and only seven conversations between employees and volunteers. There were times where volunteers greeted employees and vice versa, but these were not considered conversations for this tally. The majority of the interactions between employees and volunteers occurred at the whiteboards where volunteers and employees would sign out dogs to take on a walk.

The most interaction between employees and volunteers occurred with the members of the matchmaking team who are comprised of employee and volunteer members. In fact, during my interview with the volunteer Brooklyn, an employee, Gloria, came and spoke with us for approximately 20 minutes of the interview. She was working, but stopped by to meet me and talk about the volunteers at SPD. The observational data show that employee-volunteer interactions were far fewer than the homogenized employee-employee and volunteer-volunteer conversations.

The volunteers and employees at SPD also showed distinct identities in the location of where they gathered as unique groups. The employees and volunteers decided to take their breaks using two different tables. There are two tables in the main courtyard at Kentfield (see Figure 1). The white table is located near the first row of kennels (Kennel A) when you enter the yard. Most of the volunteers placed any water bottles, lunches, snacks, or bags here when they went to go walk dogs. The employees, on the other hand, placed their water bottles and supplies at the second table located behind the ringworm cattery on the other side of the courtyard near Kennel C. Only the long-term, dog behavior volunteers—Marta, Estelle, and Sam—took their breaks over at the other table. The majority of dog-walking volunteers, such as Eva, Della, Adam, Annette, and Cecilia, placed their materials on the white table. I never once recorded an employee using, or gathering, at the white table at Kentfield.

The social groups at SPD were kept quite distinct and communication proved to be integral in how volunteers distanced themselves from employees and other social groups. First, the volunteers reflected on their experiences with other at SPD and mentioned *status* as something that delineated some volunteers from others. The status theme shows a separation from the in-group and the out-group. Secondly, the volunteers talked about liking some employees and not others. The credibility of the employee was enhanced by whether or not that employee had been a volunteer before becoming an employee. Lastly, the observational data showed conversations and interactions also provided evidence of a separation between volunteers and employees. The conversations that occurred while working at Kentfield were distinctly among volunteers or among

employees. Volunteers at SPD reflected upon their experience with employees by talking about negative interactions, conflict, and points of differentiation. The emphasis on difference between employees and volunteers created distance between volunteers and employees. By creating these disidentifications, the volunteers constructed a more defined role, as volunteers, in the organization. At a group-level, there is one final source of disidentification among the volunteers: distancing from the object of the work.

Disidentification with the Animals

The final disidentification theme that emerged from the data involved how volunteers distanced themselves from the subject of the work—the animals. Although some participants communicated their identification and commitment to the animals at SPD, others expressed subtle movement away from the animals. These volunteers were primarily in non-animal facing roles and expressed that other aspects of the work were more closely tied to their identity. Primarily, these volunteers aligned their values with the people-aspect of the work in contrast to aligning their identity with working with the animals. The three volunteers who expressed disidentification toward the animals communicated this disidentification by: (a) articulating different motivations for volunteering, and (b) attributing lack of identification with role at SPD.

Different motivation. Some of the volunteers at SPD explicitly mentioned that they were motivated by a completely different motivation than working with the animals. Kayla specifically pursued roles at SPD that aligned with her value of helping people. Her role at SPD is to help lead the volunteer orientations, mentor new volunteers, and manage volunteer groups.. In order to become proficient in her role, she still needed to

progress through the dog behavior training classes and had to spend time walking dogs. She expressed a struggle when thinking about how far she has moved away from working with the animals:

> I haven't walked a dog on my own without being in a mentor session or a group session or whatever in a long time. I can't decide whether or not I feel bad about that. Sometimes I do and sometimes I don't. Sometimes I think like you know I put my treat pouch on and I see my bracelets, I don't know I probably should come up 30 minutes earlier, come in late but I don't, don't do that.

Kayla's quote shows the shifting of an identification over time as a volunteer. For Kayla, she started out identifying more with the animals. She "probably should" come up and walk some dogs, but walking the dogs is now not part of her core identity as a volunteer. Kayla shows a *pulling away* from one component of the work: the dogs. In this way, she separates walking dogs from other tasks at SPD. By communicating this separation, she shows an active disidentification with the animals.

Other volunteers expressed similar shift or tension between competing identifications. Julius talked about experiencing tension when he left a foster animal at home to come and walk dogs at SPD. He said, "I feel a little guilty when I come down here to work with the dogs. I'm like, 'She's sitting home all alone, but I keep trying to tell myself, 'Well, she knows what it's like being here, She'll understand.'" Julius' role as a foster may limit his ability to identify with the dogs. The result of competing identifications may inhibit identification with either the dogs or the organization.

Identification with animals limited by role. Volunteers also communicated that their role at SPD limited their identification with the animals. For example, Tabitha works as the volunteer liaison for the kitten nursery program and she spends most her time training volunteers, communicating with them, and scheduling their shifts for the season. Tabitha explained that the kitten nursery program is set up to prevent strong attachments to the kittens. The volunteers who work in the kitten nursery have to work quickly or else the very fragile kittens may not live through the first weeks of their lives. Tabitha explained the end result of the program:

> We want them to go to foster. Every single kitten in our program goes to foster, at some point. Hopefully in less than ten days. Ideally, straight from the shelter, but that doesn't always work out. So, they [volunteers] don't have an opportunity to get attached to any one particular litter and they're in a different room each time, anyway.

Tabitha also mentioned that some volunteers want to come and just pet baby kittens. She said that she encourages volunteers who want animal interaction to consider other options such as fostering a cat or working at the cattery.

The preceding accounts show how volunteers who communicatively distanced themselves away from the animals. Although each volunteer had some care or concern for the greater welfare of animals, this concern played out very differently for some volunteers. The volunteers who expressed distancing toward the animals were not anti-animal, but instead aligned themselves with other aspects of the social scene.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION OF DISIDENTIFICATION AT SPD

The purpose of identifying the disidentification targets and communicative actions associated with the disidentifications is to show how communication constructs the various disidentifications that exist at SPD. To better understand how the disidentifications of volunteers exist simultaneously through a cross-analysis of the identifications and disidentifications of the volunteers at SPD. By analyzing how the volunteers simultaneously identified and disidentified, the data will show how volunteers manage these identifications and disidentifications are simultaneously.

The findings in this chapter illustrate how volunteers constructed disidentifications with various disidentification targets at SPD—the organization, the mission, the people, and the animals. This disidentification was characterized by active distancing of individuals from identification targets, and was realized through various communicative tactics such as comparing SPD to another organization, criticizing the organization, expressing negative sentiments toward a particular social group, and talking about roles that limited the identification process. Disidentification, much like the identification process, proved to be fashioned by communication and exists alongside the identification of the volunteers.

Table 4.4 shows examples of how identification and disidentification exist in the same organization among the volunteers at SPD. The second column on Table 4.4 lists the identification target with which the volunteer identified with the most at SPD. I have labeled the second column the volunteer's *primary* identification meaning that the volunteer spoke about or enacted this identification regularly in the interview and

observational data. The primary identification comes from the previous analysis in Chapter 3. Concurrently, the third column highlights the volunteer's primary disidentification. These comments show some element of the construction of disidentification on the part of the volunteers. The last column shows the communicative and behavioral actions used by the volunteers to construct and negotiate identifications and disidentifications simultaneously.

The findings in this chapter contribute to the overall study of identification and communication by: (a) showing empirical evidence for the communicative construction of disidentification, (b) examining how identification for one member may be disidentification for another, and (c) describing the effects of liminal memberships on disidentification.

First, presenting data that indicates the existence of disidentification is important because it provides evidence for disidentification as something that is not merely the *absence* of identification. There are distinct, communicative processes that volunteers used to construct disidentified selves. The active construction and maintenance of a disidentification shows intention, or purpose, on the part of the volunteer. In other words, disidentification is not an end state, but a process that one enacts in interactions and that reflects values, motivations, and beliefs. Additionally, past research discussing identification has primarily looked at how individuals disidentified with organizations of which they are not members (i.e., Elsbach & Bhattacharya, 2001). Thus, the findings here extend our understanding of disidentification by demonstrating how current members of an organization actively disidentify themselves from aspects of their work.

The idea that an organizational member would actively disidentify with the organization seems counterintuitive in nature, especially in an organization that is voluntary in nature. If an individual is selecting to engage with an organization with little necessity to do so, it appears on the surface irrational that individual would then increase distance from the organization for any other reason than as an antecedent to organizational exit. However, the communication of the volunteers at SPD surface two issues with existing assumptions related to disidentification. First, treating disidentification as the absence of, or opposite of, identification creates a false binary whereby an individual is either engaged or disengaged. The communication of the volunteers at SPD indicated that individuals could simultaneously express aspects of engagement and disengagement. This relates to the second misconception about disidentification, which is that it should be conceptualized in relation to the organization. The data revealed that just as identification can have multiple and varied targets, so too can disidentification. As opposed to a view that sees organizational identification (or lack thereof) as the primary driver of attachment to work, the data indicates that volunteers may use identifications in somewhat of an exchange model where a variety of different identification targets are relevant to the costs and benefits of organizational participation. In other words, if the volunteers started to develop identities in opposition of the organization, they appear to be constructing strong identification with another target in order to counteract the imbalance. The parts of a volunteer's fragmented identity may exceed the cost of the components that push against an individual's personal identity.

Some of the volunteers utilized disidentification as a way to create stronger identification with a different target at SPD. For example, as Table 4.4 shows, Kayla positioned her identification with other volunteers at SPD. She identified the most with her fellow volunteers. Kayla simultaneously constructed disidentification with the animals at SPD. She did this by removing the animals from her main focus at SPD. She talked about the animals as something that was tangential to her volunteer work with other people. Additionally, her behavior reflected this disidentification. She only worked at SPD with people and only walked dogs when she had to use them to help the people at SPD. The behaviors and the communication about the animals shows a distancing and separation of the animals from her identity.

Table 4.4 Examples of Simultaneous Identification and Disidentification Targets of Volunteers at SPD

	Identification	Disidentification	Communicative Actions
Julius	Organization: "People love what this organization is doing, and it just makes you feel like you walk a little taller and prouder when you're wearing one of these SPD shirts, because people know it."	Dogs: "I don't get that connection the way I used to. I had several of them when I was just doing the walking that some of them I'd take out on my boat and they become your best buddy. In fact my computer at home, the screen saver is just all the dogs I've taken out."	Nonverbal communication reinforces organizational identification; Regretful comment shows disidentification from animals
Blake	Mission: "I think the thing that keeps a lot of people there and I think what keeps us there is the mission is the goal. The no-kill thing is important and I don't think even SPD goes far enough."	Organization: "We came to believe the story was simply a marketing tool for individuals and the organization; they were not being transparent or honest about what was really happening, and in every area the dogs were suffering for it.	Emphasizes ideals larger than organization, the mission; Constructs disidentification by referring to misalignment between organization and mission
Kayla	People: "I think I talk to other people about it in a very, it's been a positive experience for me so I made friends through volunteering. That was not what I expected to do. I didn't expect to do that but I did. Violet is one of my best friends now."	Dogs: You know I haven't walk a dog on my own without being in a mentor session or a group session or whatever in a long time. I can't decide whether or not I feel bad about that. Sometimes I do and sometimes I don't sometimes I think like you know I put my treat pouch on and I see my bracelets, I don't know I probably should come up 30 minutes earlier, come in late but I don't, don't do that."	Positions identification in terms of social relationships; Exhibits disidentification by separating out dog-walking from actions and thought
Candice	Dogs: "And then this young girl comes along and adopts her and this is like a year ago because she had roommates and Fanny wouldn't have been left alone. It's hard to adopt an old dog because you know they're not gonna live long. She's got separation anxiety, but that girl gave her a great [home]."	Organization: "I think we have some dogs who have been here a very long time and their behavior issues are so bad that I think we're wasting kennel space, and they have found solutions to these dogs like one dog went to Animal Asylum."	Identifies with dogs through story-telling about a specific dog; Disidentifies through criticism of organization and comparison to another organization

Note: These are examples of the existence of identifications and disidentifications at SPD. The volunteers constructed these in and through communicative actions. This list is not exclusive and intends to show how a sample of the volunteers simultaneously identified and disidentified with the organization.

Some volunteers appeared to identify with multiple aspects of the organization such as the social component and the overall organization. Other volunteers expressed multiple disidentifications with the multiple targets of disidentification, but they did not compensate or balance out these identifications the same way Kayla did in the previous example. In other words, the identification process is complex and this study provides further evidence of that complexity by highlighting the simultaneous existence of identification and disidentification in the same organization.

Secondly, the targets of identification and disidentification were the same targets. As much as one volunteer identified with the 'no-kill' mission of SPD, another volunteer despised it. Similarly, most volunteers expressed a strong attachment to the animals, but other volunteers never even interacted with the animals for their work at SPD. The targets of identification as something that volunteers can identify and disidentify with are best explained as an existing tension in non-profit organizations. Although McNamee and Peterson (2014) investigate volunteer work from a manager's perspective, they highlight some of the tensions that are created by volunteers. Since the identification targets may be seen as something that can either be identified with or disidentified with, they create a dialectic that must be accordingly managed by the organization.

The dialectical nature of these identification/disidentification targets highlights the complexity of maintaining and recruiting volunteers. Previous research encourages volunteer organizations to utilize messaging that satisfy volunteers' motivations for joining the organization (Clary et al., 1994). If the organization sends messages that favor one organizational target, such as the mission, over another, the volunteers that are

considering joining SPD will most likely not because the main message will not align with their personal identity. Due to these competing and shifting identifications, volunteer managers face challenges in learning how to manage and support volunteers with varying identifications.

Lastly, volunteers assume a role within organizations that is inherently liminal. Although the roles fulfilled by volunteers at SPD are needed and necessary, each individual is also replaceable by design. Likewise, the boundaries of a non-profit organization are quite permeable and most volunteers at SPD can take time away, come when convenient, or leave at any moment. Yet, despite strong disidentifications with the organization, the people, and even the animals, volunteers still choose to *remain with the organization*. Furthermore, there is little indication that the presence of disidentification is associated with a greater likelihood of leaving. The impact of the disidentifications on the organization requires further examination. Perhaps disidentification affords volunteers the flexibility to separate themselves from the organization considering that they may exit their role at any time (Gossett, 2002). Additionally, the disidentification process could serve to prevent volunteers from becoming overly identified with the work of an organization, resulting in emotional labor, especially in the animal welfare industry.

The most common example of disidentification was a disidentification with the organization itself. Volunteers criticized the organization and expressed that their purpose and reason for being at SPD was to help the animals. Volunteers vented frustrations about the organization, but that disidentification with the organization seemed to only strengthen their identification with the animals. The interplay between identification and

disidentification suggests that volunteers use identification *functionally* at SPD. In order to overcome a disidentification, or something that was contrary to their own identity, they reinforced an identity that aligned with their personal identity. The functional use of identification has implications for understanding how individuals *use* identification to continue to work in organizations.

CHAPTER 5: THE ENACTED IDENTITY: DIRTY WORK AS AN EXPRESSION OF IDENTIFICATION

Chapter 4 demonstrated how volunteers construct identifications and disidentifications with their target organization, its mission, social groups, and the subject of the work—the dogs and cats—at an animal shelter. The analysis of the data uncovers the way in which volunteers communicate through comparison and criticism to distance themselves from the organization and use relational communication to attach themselves to the organization, animals, and people at SPD. While the communication, in terms of talk and stories, constructs these identities is valuable in helping to understand how the volunteers perceive their identification with the organization, it is also important to evaluate the relationship of these identifications and disidentifications to the work practices of the volunteers.

Past research shows several organizational benefits to having individuals who are highly identified with the organization. Strongly identified organizational members report higher levels of commitment (Riketta, 2005), intent to remain with the organization (Scott & Stephens, 2009), work satisfaction (van Knippenberg & van Schie, 2000), and motivation to work (van Knippenberg, 2000). The research on the outcomes of identification uses identification as a mediator or moderator of other variables (e.g., Cho et al., 2011), and do not situate the physical work of organizational members as a noteworthy environmental aspect that influences identification (see exceptions, Ashcraft, 2007; Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999). The studies that use identification as a mediator, moderator, or outcome variable – and are interested in variance models – measure and

treat identification largely as a static construct. Additionally, most of these studies view identification as a stagnant, monolithic, measurable feature of organizational members. Less is known about the consequences of multiple identifications and disidentifications among organizational members.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the ways volunteers talk about and enact identification and disidentification in and through their work behaviors. The link between enacted identities and work is often studied in environments where identification with the work and with the organization results in positive outcomes for the self and the organization (Fineman, 2000). For example, a doctor who identifies with his clinic (organizational identification) not only benefits her or his own work, but also benefits the organization. When the doctor identifies with the clinic, she may be more likely to put in extra hours on the weekend or to cover for another physician who is ill. By doing extra work, the organization benefits from the identification of the doctor. The doctor may receive higher performance evaluations for this additional work and then be more satisfied in her work. In this sense the doctor and the organization both benefit from organizational identification.

The ability of individuals to identify with their organization may be more difficult for some workers than others. The context and environment of the organization influence an individual's identification processes (Scott et al., 1998). Therefore, it is important to examine the work of identified and disidentified members of different types of organizations. The following section expounds upon the ways that identities are fluid (Parsell, 2011), negotiated (Goffman, 1959), duplicitous (Scott & Stephens, 20090),

contextually bound (Hull & Zacher, 2007), and enacted through work (Gossett, 2002; Parsell, 2011; Zabusky & Barley, 1997). The ultimate goal of this chapter is to understand the outcomes of multiple identifications on the volunteer work. By studying the work and the outcomes of identification, this chapter provides a more nuanced picture of how both identifications and disidentifications serve important functions for organizational members.

WORK AS ENACTED IDENTITIES

The enactment of an identity refers to the "continual process of behavioral routines that both facilitates the development of new identities and affirms old identities" (Thatcher & Zhu, 2006, p. 1078). In other words, individuals can display identifications through their behavior and through their work. Scholars have shown that communication is central to identification (e.g., Cheney, 1983) and that individuals express and construct identifications through their talk and discourse (e.g., Ashcraft, 2007; Tracy, 2005). However, scholars have paid less attention to the enactment of identifications through behavior and work. It is important for communication scholars to not only study the spoken word, but also the work performed because the enactment of identities may reveal identifications, and disidentifications, that are not constructed in verbal communication. Parsell (2011) describes the relationship between communication and identity formation as "the physical embodying or representing a sense of who one is in relation to others" (Parsell, 2011, p. 443). In this sense, identities are not something that are merely constructed and cognitively stored, but enacted and displayed. For example, Trethewey (1999) used a feminist perspective to investigate how women perceived a "professional"

body. Trethewey's work highlights the connection between the physical body and nonverbal behaviors as an extension of identity work in organizations.

Enacted identities and identifications are not limited to a singular identification. Individuals construct multiple identities (Scott et al., 1999; Scott & Stephens, 2009) and are comprised of a "plurality of identities" (Parsell, 2011, p. 446). The enactment of multiple identifications and disidentifications is important to understand so that scholars can better identify the ways in which organizational members use identifications and disidentifications.

The utility of multiple identifications describes how individuals can draw upon certain identities to achieve some personal end (Parsell, 2011). Consequently, individuals who are aware of their identifications are able to construct them strategically and functionally. But when would these identities be used? The type of work an individual performs and participates in could provide the platform to display a particular identity or identification (Hall, 2000). The decision to volunteer at a certain organization over another may be a function of an individual's carefully selected identity. For example, an individual may identify with being a "good person" and they may enact this identity by volunteering for a non-profit that meets a social need.

The communicative construction of identification and disidentification may be influenced by the context in which these identifications are constructed. Specifically, the work and organizational contract between the organization and the individual may alter the ways in which volunteers use multiple identifications and enact these same identifications. For example, Gossett's (2002) examines the identifications, or lack

thereof, of temporary workers. Gossett's observations suggested that temporary workers had limited access to symbolic resources such as keys or access codes, were excluded from decision-making processes, and had limited opportunities for feedback. As a result of the symbolic distance between contract workers and the organization, these workers had a limited ability and desire to identify with the organization.

The work from Gossett (2002) urges scholars to consider the relationship between identification and work. Does the organization's communication and the type of work it demands influence individuals' capacity for identification? Or is the individual the primary agent and conductor of identification? Scott and colleagues (1998) would argue that it is difficult to separate whether temporary workers kept a distance from the organization because they were temporary workers or because their role had limited access to certain resources. To better understand the relationship between identification and work, it is important to study identification and disidentification in different types of work, such as dirty work.

Dirty Work as an Expression of Identification

The context of work and the type of work influence the identification and disidentification processes of organizational members. Scholars have sought to understand how volunteers construct identifications (Ashcraft & Kedrowicz, 2002; Kramer, Meisenbach, & Hansen, 2013), but less is understood about how the nature of the work influences the identification processes of volunteer members. For example, volunteers who work at an animal shelter regularly work in roles that would be described as "dirty work" (Hughes, 1958, 1962). Animal shelter volunteers work in close quarters

with large animals, regularly interact with animal feces, and do so in a loud and pungent environment.

Dirty work has consistently been characterized by tasks that are associated with a "physical, social, or moral" stigma (Ashcraft & Kreiner, 1999, p. 414). Physical stigma refers to tasks that are associated with physical dirtiness such as a butcher who slaughters animals or someone who picks up garbage. A socially stigmatized job includes working with an outcast group of people such as psychiatry patients at a mental hospital or a role that denotes servitude, such as a nanny. The final type of dirty work, moral stigma, refers to any work that is considered to be dishonorable. Examples of dishonorable work range from exotic dancing, pawnshop owners, or professional gamblers.

Volunteering for Dirty Work

The dirtiness of the volunteer work at an animal shelter may influence the ways in which volunteer members identify with the organization and other targets of identification. The dirtiness of the work may prevent volunteers from identifying with certain aspects of that work. Often, volunteers identify with the positive aspects of the work. Volunteer work often comprises work that is meaningful or provides some benefit to the volunteer or the greater good (Lewis, 2013). In this sense, the act of volunteering can be viewed as a positive aspect to one's identity. Being able to say, "I am a volunteer," has been shown to motivate volunteers to perform their work (Clary & Snyder, 1991). However, there can also be negative aspects to volunteers' work. The negative components of a volunteer's work—or "dirty work"—may influence the volunteer's identification and disidentification process.

Considering the social implications of dirty work, it may be more difficult to identify with occupations under this classification. Past research speculates that employees in jobs characterized as "dirty" attempt to negate the effects of stigmatized work on one's identity. Ashforth and Kreiner (2014) demonstrate that employees engaging in dirty work alter their ideologies about their work through reframing and creating strong workplace cultures. Although there may be ways to negotiate positive identity construction in stigmatized professional work, little is known about the way individuals who *voluntarily* subject themselves to dirty work engage in identity construction.

Volunteering for dirty work appears to be an ironic choice for volunteers. Volunteers have a large amount of autonomy and choice on what type of work they want to do, but some volunteers choose to subject themselves to stigmatized work (Asforth & Kreiner, 2014). Using an identification perspective to understand why volunteers would perform dirty work, scholarship suggests that volunteers might identify with the positive aspects of the dirty work and disidentify with the negative aspects (Li, Fan, & Zhao, 2015). The dirty work, however, might have an impact on the identification processes over time. Perhaps volunteer members will wear down from the regular exposure to dirty work. Or, volunteer workers may become desensitized to the work and continue to maintain their identifications and disidentifications at the organization. The last, and most compelling possibility is that volunteers might use identification processes to endure the dirty work in an animal shelter.

According to the categorizations of dirty work stigmas mentioned earlier—physical, social, moral—the tasks completed at an animal shelter are physically disgusting. The volunteers clean up the feces of the animals and regularly encounter dogs with skin diseases, such as mange, and cats with ringworm. Additionally, the animals these volunteers handle are the least socially desirable animals in the city. SPD literally functions as the last resort for sick and aggressive animals. The volunteers are not only interacting with these animals, but take care of them in a difficult kennel environment. Bearing in mind the "dirty" aspect of volunteers' work at SPD the present study seeks to answer the following research questions:

RQ1: How does the dirty work influence volunteers' identification processes?

RQ2: Do volunteers utilize identification and disidentification to endure dirty work and, if so, how are these identifications and disidentifications enacted in the work itself?

METHOD FOR ANALYZING IDENTIFICATION AND DIRTY WORK OF VOLUNTEERS

Once each manuscript was the open coded (Glaser & Strauss, 1999), the analysis of the data began. As I reviewed the initial codes to create larger groups in the axial coding process (Charmaz, 2009), I found categories related to the dirtiness of the work. The axial coding process led to the construction of categories like: *dangerous work*, *bad facilities*, *difficult work*, *dirty work*, *safety*, and *seriousness of the work*. Each code contained numerous unique codes. For instance, the *facilities* code initially consisted of 197 unique codes. To further focus on the dirtiness of the facilities, I went back into the data and grouped together all of the codes under and new axial code of *dirty facilities*.

The *dirty facilities* category consisted of themes such as "bad smell," "shoddy workmanship," and "conditions for the dogs."

Coding for Dirty Work

My findings from the *dirty work* code contained two main categorizations: (a) description of the work, and (b) how volunteers dealt with the dirty work. Within the codes that described the dirty work, there were four types of dirty work at SPD. After identifying these types, I returned to each interview and selectively coded (Charmaz, 2009) to find volunteers' outside job responsibilities, time volunteering, central role, and degree of interaction with dirty work at SPD. I wanted to identify and clarify the roles in which volunteers at SPD worked regularly. The roles at SPD varied and some were inherently "dirtier" than others. For example, working from home processing volunteer applications contains less dirty work than cleaning a kennel at Kentfield. I wanted to identify the range of roles and examine who participated in which role at SPD. By selectively coding, I was able to see how each of the volunteers participated in one type of dirty work at SPD.

Subsequently, I reviewed the identification codes from Chapter 3 and compared the identifications and disidentifications to the volunteers and their dirty work. I located specific references to attachments, bonds, and identification and looked for patterns among the types of identifications formed and the type of dirty work performed. The connection across identifications and dirty work was the key analysis for this study. I looked for patterns across the volunteers and their experiences to see how the relationship between their work and their identification and disidentification.

The final part of my analysis was calculating the extent to which volunteers used their spare time to work at SPD. This was an important aspect of this analysis because it provides another metric of volunteer commitment and identification with the work or organization. I describe the process of calculating how much time volunteers spent doing dirty work at SPD in the following section.

Determining Availability to Volunteer Quotient

The volunteers at SPD varied greatly in the time they were able to actively work at SPD. Some volunteers are retired and are on-site at SPD almost every day to work. Other volunteers have full-time jobs and only come on the weekend to volunteer. To account for the differences among these volunteers while computing the time each volunteer devoted to volunteering, I needed to create a way to compare the volunteers based on the *time available* to volunteer throughout the week.

To compute the time available to volunteer work percentage, I first calculated the total number of possible volunteer hours a week. At SPD, any volunteer can work from 7 a.m. to 7 p.m. However, some volunteers will stay past hours to make sure all the dogs are walked before they leave. I used 14 hours as the maximum amount of time that a volunteer could work at SPD on any given day. This means that the maximum number of hours in a week that a volunteer could work is 98 hours. Then, I multiplied 98 by 4 to represent the total number of hours someone could volunteer in a month: 392 hours. To calculate the availability of a volunteer, I went through and identified if they worked in one of three capacities: (a) part-time, (b) full-time, or (c) retired. I define a part-time job as a job that requires 30 hours of work each week and a full-time job as 40 hours per

week. I calculated the time available for the retired volunteers as 14 hours per day, every day, every week. After determining how much available time each volunteer had available per month, I divided that number by how many hours the volunteer worked each month. The resulting number represented the percentage of their available time that they used to volunteer. I used months as the baseline time period unit because the volunteers received monthly reports of their hours and often referred to their total hours by how many hours they worked per month.

I will use one of the volunteers, Janie, as an example to illustrate how I computed the time volunteering percentage. Janie works a full-time job and works 20 hours per month at SPD. Out of a total 392 hours of possible volunteer work, Janie is only available, because of her job, to work ((392 – (40*4) = 232) 232 hours of the possible 392 hours. Janie currently volunteers about 20 hours of those 232 possible volunteer hours, or, 8% of her available time. I performed this same calculation with each of the volunteers and then identified their time volunteering percentage in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1 Time Volunteering Percentage of All the Volunteer Participants

Volunteer	Hours per month	Outside Work Status	Time Volunteering Percentage
Marta	160	Full-time job	69
Estelle	160	Full-time job	68
Krista	120	Full-time job	52
Annette	120	Full-time job	52
Dierdre	80	Full-time job	34
Tabitha	80	Full-time job	34
Paulo	65	Full-time job	28
Brooklyn	60	Full-time job	26
Arlene	100	Retired	25
Nettie	80	Retired	20
Blake	80	Retired	20
Kathryn	80	Retired	20
Cecilia	80	Retired	20
Della	40	Part-time job	15
Julius	32	Full-time job	14
Eva	50	Retired	13
Candice	30	Full-time job	13
Raymond	48	Retired	12
Lonnie	40	Retired	10
Gertrude	40	Retired	10
Adam	40	Retired	10
Claude	40	Retired	10
Violet	20	Full-time job	9
Janie	20	Full-time job	9
Blanca	20	Full-time job	9
Monique	20	Full-time job	8
Elaine	18	Full-time job	8
Delia	20	Part-time job	7
Miranda	12	Full-time job	5
Naomi	20	Retired	5
Raquel	10	Full-time job	4
Marguerite	10	Full-time job	4
Omar	10	Full-time job	4
Kayla	8	Full-time job	3
Rochelle	8	Full-time job	3
April	4	Part-time job	1.5
Drew*	0	Unemployed	0

Notes: Time volunteering percentage = Hours volunteering at SPD / (Total volunteer hours – (hours working/month). *Drew was a potential volunteer who only visited SPD a couple of times. He never completed the orientation and so he was not an "official" volunteer. However, his perspective was still important to this study in how he perceived the work and identified with the work.

There are certainly limitations to this measure. The formula does not account for subtle differences among full-time jobs nor does it consider any family responsibilities, hobbies, or overtime work. There may be some volunteers whose full-time job accounts

for 50-60 hours a week. Also, some of the retired volunteers may volunteer elsewhere or work part-time. The goal of this formula is to try and provide some baseline metric to analyze how much time the volunteers work at SPD based on their availability.

CLASSIFYING DIRTY WORK AND VOLUNTEER (DIS)IDENTIFICATIONS AT SPD

Before examining any potential relationship between dirty work and identification, it is important to establish the different work practices among volunteers at SPD that vary in their level of dirtiness. The ability of volunteers to cope with varying levels of dirtiness may be related to their identification processes. The volunteers at SPD expressed various and somewhat shifting identifications in their work at SPD. In fact, they not only expressed clear identifications (e.g., "I'm only here for the dogs"), but they simultaneously communicated disidentifications that positioned them in direct opposition with the organization. These identifications are identified in Chapter 3 and also portrayed in Figure 3.1. The purpose of this chapter, as previously stated, is to find out how these identifications and disidentifications influence the work of the volunteers. Toward this end, I describe the types of dirty work that volunteers do at SPD.

The types of dirty work that emerged from the data were based upon the amount and intensity of the work. The amount of dirty work refers to, in part, the time that volunteers were able to volunteer at SPD and perform dirty work. The data show that some volunteers at SPD worked a couple hours a week, but there were others who came to SPD almost every day. The role of time spent doing the dirty work must be considered in relation to its effect on volunteer identification. For example, if one volunteer comes and walks dogs for three hours a week they may have to pick up some feces. However,

for a volunteer who comes every day, the opportunity for risk and dirtiness increases. Also, the amount of dirty work does not necessarily refer to time alone, given that there is a difference between scooping dog poop and petting the cats on a spectrum of dirty work.

In addition to the amount of dirty work each volunteer engaged in, the data also shows that certain work is more intense than others. The intensity of the work refers to the physicality and imposition of the work tasks and environment. In other words, some individuals expended more physical effort than others, and confronted more severe material conditions in terms of smells, unpleasant sights, and physical danger. Additionally, some work was associated with greater consequences for the health of the animals and the safety of those at SPD. For instance, walking a dog does not require the same amount intensity as bottle-feeding a kitten to keep it alive. Also, the intensity of the work incorporates some of the themes regarding safety and working with dangerous animals. If a volunteer is only qualified to take out a "pink" dog—a dog that is easy to walk—then that volunteer is not exposed to the dangers associated with taking out a more aggressive animal. As such, dirty work refers to the danger associated with tasks and not just the physical dirtiness of the work (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1999).

All of the volunteers at SPD engaged in dirty work in some capacity. Even if a volunteer works behind a computer for SPD, there is still "social taint" (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1999) associated with working with discarded animals. The social stigmatized work is characterized by working with the derelict of society, such as shelter animals (Ashforth et al., 2007). The analysis in this section yielded four types of volunteers that performed different types dirty work at SPD: (1) 'Clean' Volunteers, (2)

Smudged Volunteers, (3) Filthy Volunteers, and (4) Dangerously Devoted Volunteers. To create this classification system, I reviewed the roles of all the volunteers, the amount of time they are able to spend volunteering, and the specific actions found in the observational data. In particular, I sought out instances of physically disgusting occurrences (e.g., "poo just got on my hand") and stories of dirty experiences (e.g., "rats fell from the ceiling"). See Table 5.2 for a complete description of the classification of the four types of dirty work at SPD.

The work consisted of increasing intensity of dirtiness and the volunteers also varied the amount of time they spent doing the dirty portion of the work. The purpose of identifying these types of dirty work is to show that different types of volunteers—with varying identifications—performed different types of work. By showing how these volunteers accomplished dirty work, this paper connects the type of dirty work to how volunteers used identification and disidentification to overcome some of the negative aspects to dirty work. As a result, the data shows how volunteers enact identifications through the participation in and enduring of dirty work at SPD.

Table 5.2 Types of Dirty Work and their Consequences on Volunteer Identification

	Description	Volunteers	Average Time Volunteering Percentage	Team Membership	Stigma Experienced	Examples of Dirty work	Identification Switching
Clean Volunteers	The only dirty work completed by these volunteers was showing up at the facilities or, in general, working for the organization. These individuals worked primarily "behind the scenes."	Drew; Naomi; Dierdre	2.5%*	Development team; Volunteer committee team	Social taint	Working for discarded animals	Latent identifications balance disidentifications; Broad identifications
Smudged Volunteers	These volunteers worked in roles that included mild dirty work. Either they performed dirty work for short periods of time or worked primarily with people at SPD.	April; Lonnie; Candice; Kayla; Raquel; Brooklyn; Omar; Julius	9%	New volunteers; Dog walking (easy dogs only); Matchmaking team; Cat volunteers	Minor physical taint; Little social taint	Picking up after a dog goes the bathroom; Walking dogs in the heat; Scratches from cats	Identification with Social; Shift from organizational identification to identification with the animals
Filthy Volunteers	The dirty work completed by these volunteers includes regular handling of animals and expected amount of associated risk involved. These volunteers regularly encountered animal feces or cleaned as part of their role.	Nettie; Kathryn; Eva; Raymond; Della; Violet; Paulo; Janie; Marguerite; Rochelle; Gertrude; Adam; Elaine; Delia; Arlene; Monique; Blanca; Claude	13%	Dog walking team; Medium level dogs	Physical; Social	Picking up after a dog goes the bathroom; Walking dogs in the heat; Handling difficult dogs; Higher risk for dog bite	Reinforce identifications; Strong identification with animals
Dangerously Devoted Volunteers	These volunteers expressed situations of extreme dirty work. This could be social taint, but these volunteers primarily experienced severe physical taint.	Miranda; Marta; Blake; Krista; Eva; Annette; Estelle; Cecilia; Tabitha	37%	Dog walking; Dog behavior team; Health issues; Kitten nursery program	Extreme physical; Social	Picking up after a dog goes to the bathroom; Walking dogs in heat; Handling and training difficult dogs; Dealing with life and death; Risk for bite or scratches	Disidentification with organization to Identification with Animals

Notes: The time volunteering percentage was computed by averaging the volunteers' time volunteering percentage listed on Table 5.1. The number serves as a broad indicator of how much time each volunteer type works at SPD every month.
*Dierdre is an outlier here and removed from this calculation. If Dierdre's hours are included, the percentage jumps to 19%.

Type I: The 'Clean' Volunteers

The first type of volunteer who does dirty work are those volunteers who do the minimal amount of dirty work in their role at SPD. The majority of these volunteers work in roles that are on the computer or that deal primarily with the people side of SPD. For example, Naomi is the volunteer team leader for the development team and she oversees the collection of funds for SPD across the city. SPD has donation receptacles at grocery stores and convenience stores all around Metropolis. Naomi organizes the volunteers who check on the buckets and pick up the money each week. Naomi rarely goes to the physical location of SPD. Clean workers have little to no contact with the animals at SPD.

Examples of Type I Dirty Work. The Clean Volunteers joined teams at SPD that are often "behind the scenes" work. These roles consist of working on a computer to input data, write biographies for the dogs and cats that are trying to become adopted, or assisting with marketing events. At the volunteer orientations, the volunteer committee describes these roles as opportunities for volunteers who are surprised or uncertain about working with the animals. Kayla was leading one of the orientations and said, "There's a bunch of pit bulls here and you may find out that this isn't for you. If you think poop is gross you can do volunteering at home and Martha [pseudonym] can tell you more about that" (Field Notes, 7/8/15). The volunteer who participated in Type I Dirty work still expressed a strong commitment through their participation and the time they worked for SPD.

For example, Dierdre worked primarily in two teams at SPD: the volunteer committee and the Adopt-a-Line. The volunteer committee was responsible for hosting new volunteer orientation, but Dierdre handled all of the paperwork and created online profiles in the online volunteer management system after the new volunteers completed their orientation. She described this type of work:

> My main thing is keeping the orientation data updated. I set up the events board, which is how people register. I kind of keep Vol Squared [online volunteer management system], cleaned up. I answer a lot of emails, anything that comes from volunteer@savingpetsdaily.org; I'm one of the people that answer those.

Dierdre spends most of her time on her computer and rarely works on the property at SPD. Another volunteer, Naomi, said that she only travels to the shelter "once a month for a development meeting." Similarly, the other Clean Volunteers experienced little to no interaction with the animals. Drew, who is unemployed, was an inactive volunteer who never completed an orientation and therefore never cleaned up after a dog or experienced any dirty work at SPD. He only entered the site twice to visit with the dogs. His interaction with the animals, or lack thereof, typifies the work of the volunteers who participated in Type I Dirty Work.

Time Availability of Type I Volunteers. Clean Volunteers spent very little of their free time working for SPD. On average, Clean Volunteers devote 2.5% of their free time to SPD. Dierdre, however, is an outlier in this group and her data was removed from the calculation. She works full time and works 80 hours a month at SPD. She does the majority of her work digitally, but spends a large amount of her free time doing it. If you

add Dierdre's hours to the Average Volunteering Time Percentage calculation, volunteers engaging in Type I dirty work spend 19% of their available time at SPD. The important takeaway from this data point is that there is a wide range of time volunteering by Clean Volunteers.

Type I dirty work consists of little to no physical dirty work. While these volunteers are still perform socially stigmatized work at SPD, the work carries little physical risk and does not include any handling of the animals. Performing this work at SPD is valuable to the organization, but offers less social prestige due to the invisibility of the work. Since Clean Volunteers often engage in behind the scenes" roles at SPD, there is less visibility to their work. In Type II dirty work, we see an increase in the physical dirtiness of the work, but a decrease in the amount of overall work.

Identification and disidentification of clean workers. The identification and disidentification processes of volunteers who performed Type I dirty work showed the existence of multiple identifications. Although Dierdre was driven to volunteer at SPD because of the animals, she aligns herself with the overall mission of SPD. She described her values as, "You know, just trying to help the community, save the animals, at least the ones that can be saved." Dierdre enacted her identification with the animals by fostering dogs and responding to a crisis at SPD in 2011. Dierdre expresses and communicates identification with the animals, but she spent very little time at SPD. She attends most of the volunteer orientation sessions, but only works at the sign-in table.

Drew expressed identification with the broader well-being of the animals and even a sensitivity to those in need in general:

> I'm very big in humanitarianism, but basically, I don't like anything to suffer especially if they're victims or just a product of their bad circumstances. I know do– animals who– they don't ask to be homeless or whatever the word for it is. They don't ask to have horrible owners who don't take care of them and who abuse them. That's not their fault.

Drew cares deeply about making a difference and cares about animal welfare generally, but he never completed the orientation to become an official SPD volunteer. Drew's identification with the organization only came through the common mission between SPD and Drew's own personal identity to care for others.

Naomi is an interesting volunteer in that her "main motivation is the love of animals" and that she "adores them [animals] more than people," but she does not work or handle any of the animals. In fact, her role necessitates working with people over animals, but she expresses a clear disidentification with people at SPD by stating how different she is from the other volunteers:

> Well, it just seems like – so you told me to be really honest, like they seem to be mostly much younger because I'm 52. And they come from a very different socioeconomic background, let's put it that way. I mean, I am just – I live out here in Nelsonville. We've got horses and we've got a lot of property and all that kind of thing. I don't know how to say that without sounding, you know. It's just – I am just not your typical volunteer, which is totally fine with me. It doesn't bother me at all. I just think that I'm not. I mean, I think I'm just not the norm.

Naomi disidentifies with the people at SPD. She acknowledges that she is very different in age, socioeconomic background, and even where she lives. Her identity, in relation to the other volunteers, is separate. What is interesting though, is that she maintains a strong identification with the animals. Even though it appears that she should be working more closely with the animals, she uses her identification with the animals to overcome and endure and conflict that arises when she experiences disidentification with other volunteers. She said:

> Anyway, so when Michael [pseudonym] became our development director, just all hell broke loose, and I just almost quit the committee. But I didn't because I want to help the animals, and so I just tried to put everything else aside.

When she experiences an uncomfortable aspect of the work in which she actively disidentifies, she actively uses her identification with the animals to overcome the consequences of disidentification. In this way, the identification with the animals becomes enacted through her decisions and actions at SPD.

The identification and disidentification processes for Clean Volunteers range from expressions of multiple identifications (Dierdre, Drew) and using identifications to overcome areas of work in which the volunteer is disidentified (Naomi). For the volunteers who do not experience much of the dirty work at SPD, identifications may be enacted only when there is some conflict or difficulty with an area of the work in which the volunteer disidentifies. The findings concerning Clean Volunteers show that non-enacted identifications can be called upon to endure working in roles in which the volunteer disidentifies.

Type II: The Smudged Volunteers

Some of the volunteers interviewed in this study described roles that consisted of moderate physical dirty work. These volunteers selected positions at SPD that often included more people-facing roles rather than directly handling the animals. Since the work does not include too much physical dirty work, I label these volunteers as "smudged" instead of fully immersed in dirty work. There are two distinguishing aspects of Type II dirty work: (a) the tenure of the volunteers, and (b) the intensity of the work. The volunteers who performed Type II dirty work were primarily new volunteers. These volunteers had recently completed orientation and were only able to walk dogs that were easy to control (see Table 2.3). Often times, these were the least experienced volunteers and were not allowed to walk dangerous or difficult dogs. Type II dirty work mainly consisted of regular dirty work that was expected for the majority of volunteers at SPD.

The data showed that eight of the participants performed Type II dirty work at SPD. These volunteers participated in roles that were central to the organization and required that volunteers handle animals and be present on site at Kentfield or Briar Oaks. By being present at Kentfield, Smudged Volunteers had to encounter the dirty work associated with being at Kentfield. The site was an old building and housed more than 200 cats and dogs. The result of so many animals in one space is messy and smelly. The Type II dirty work volunteers experienced this "smudging" type of dirty work each time they volunteered at SPD.

Examples of Type II Dirty Work. The volunteers at SPD encountered Type II dirty work through: (a) walking dogs, (b) working in the cattery, (c) working with people,

and (d) working in a run-down facility. Dog walking was a common volunteer activity at SPD. The volunteers would remove a dog from its kennel and then walk it to a pen to let it go the bathroom, run around, and receive enrichment (i.e., petting, treats) from the volunteers. Dog walking allows volunteers to interact with the dogs, but by walking the dogs, they engage in different types of dirty work. For example, one volunteer, April, was sitting on a bench waiting for her mentor session to begin and a dog came by and slobbered all over her jeans (Field Notes, 6/24/15). In addition to general dirtiness with animals, one of the primary roles of dog walkers is to make sure that the dogs go to the bathroom while they are on their "walk." Some dogs may not be trained and will go in their kennels, but others will wait until they are walked. The volunteers, then, are required to pick up the feces.

I was able to see and record the dog walkers picking up the feces while I was either interviewing them or observing them work. For example, April was a new volunteer who I observed while she was being mentored to walk dogs. Each dog walker needs to have one mentor session before he or she can walk dogs independently. During her first mentor session, April encountered a dog that had gone to the bathroom in its kennel. Eva, the mentor, told April that she needed to clean the poo before letting the dog out to the kennel. April did so and then walked out with the dog (Field Notes, 6/24/15). She encountered Type II dirty work by having to clean up after the animal.

The cat volunteers primarily served in a couple of different roles, but most cat volunteering consisted of Type II dirty work. New cat volunteers were limited to cleaning out cat crates. The crates needed to be cleaned consistently and the employees relied on

volunteers to do the cleaning tasks. Omar was a new volunteer who immediately started working by cleaning the cat crates. He compared the smelliness to "a petting zoo" and then clarified that the smell "may be not as bad as a petting zoo." In addition to the smelliness and dirtiness of cleaning the cat crates, volunteers also faced some level of danger when working with cats.

The cats at SPD were not declawed and there was always the threat of a scratch or bite from the cat. Another role in the Type II dirty work was that of the cat photographer. Lonnie was one of two main cat photographers at SPD and he talked about how important it was for volunteers to be aware of the cat's ability to bite volunteers. He said, "You also have to realize, you have to be familiar with cat personalities, and you have to realize that no matter how hard you try, there will be occasions where Fluffy will either scratch or bite you."

Lonnie talks about the bites and scratches as an inevitability. The scratches from cats are minor injuries, but still present another form of Type II dirty work. Similarly, Omar talked about feeling nervous when he was in a room with an angry cat. While he was volunteering, a cat knocked over some food in one of the larger play pens—where 7-10 cats spend their days. Omar said that the "cats were a little nervous in there" when he went in. His comment shows his uncertainty in a new environment. Omar's uncertainty and nervousness in the cattery illustrates that Type II dirty work incorporates some risk, but the work does not place any of the volunteers in any serious risk or danger.

The third set of roles that Smudged Volunteers performed were roles that involved mainly people-facing tasks. At SPD, there are opportunities to work with the

animals, but they also have a need for volunteers to help manage other volunteers or to work with potential adopters. For example, the matchmaking team works as a customer service hub for potential adopters who are looking to adopt a dog or cat. The matchmaking team must be able to walk dogs, but they primarily spend their time talking to adopters and communicating information about specific dogs. The only dirtiness these volunteers face is the dog-walking part of the job. Brooklyn is a matchmaker, but she can only walk the first three levels of dogs (up to orange). If an adopter is interested in a dog that is requires a higher trained handler, Brooklyn has to go find one:

> Sometimes I have to find a volunteer or [paid] staff to take out a dog for me. Generally, there are enough people around for me to find to help take a dog out…I can't wait to walk the blues and go through the blue training because there's some dogs that I love.

The limitation on which dogs can be taken out by Brooklyn means that she is not able to take out the more aggressive or dangerous dogs. Brooklyn works in the facility and handles some dogs, but the extent of her dirty work is limited, and thus, Type II dirty work.

The other people-facing roles include being a mentor for new volunteers, leading volunteer groups at SPD, taking animals to events, and coordinating the volunteer orientation. These are important roles in the organization, but they contain minor physical dirty work on the part of the volunteers. Kayla performs Type II dirty work by addressing the social dirtiness of working with shelter animals among the volunteer groups she leads:

> I like to help educate the volunteers and break down stereotypes that they may have about particular types of dogs. We get a lot of pit bulls here and some apartment complexes don't even allow these types of dogs, I mean, what even is that? But when I get a group here, I can see that they are startled by all the pit bulls. But then I will take one out and they see how fun and playful the dog is and it changes their perceptions.

Kayla enjoys being able to change individuals' perceptions of the stigma toward dogs. In doing this, she participates in dirty work by facing the stigma associated with how people think about shelter animals. In addition to the roles being important in understanding what makes up Type II dirty work, the volunteers who performed Type II dirty work were not as involved as some of the other types.

Lastly, Type II dirty work is characterized by work at the Kentfield location at SPD. The volunteers worked in settings that were often dirty and dangerous. One of the first buildings the volunteers encounter is the Carson Building where the orientations are held. The main problem with this is the facility itself may be a deterrent to keeping volunteers at the orientation. As the volunteers enter the building, there is evidence of visible damage to the orientation room and an overall messiness to the place. I noted on one of the first orientations I attended that, "One of the ceiling tiles above the volunteers is broken and hanging. You can see the air ducts and pipes through the ceiling tiles" (Field Notes, 6/28/15). When I asked Omar, a cat volunteer, what he thought of the facilities, he said, "It was a little rundown, but I kind of expected that for somewhere

downtown, it's a non-profit." Omar understood that a non-profit organization would probably not have the nicest facilities.

Other volunteers spoke more directly about some of the difficulties presented by the facilities. Raquel called the shelter a, "depressing visual experience." Another component to the visual rundown nature of Kentfield was the smell of the facilities. Omar remembered the smell of the cattery from the first time he volunteered:

> So I think the first thing that hits for some people is maybe they're not quite expecting the smell. And one of the comments while I was cleaning the cage, I think it was right when they just were opening. And one of the people came in [the cattery] and was like, "Oh this place smells better." And the other, the rest were like [makes negative face]…So I think that could be kind of, there are some people who do have really sensitive noses, even though they don't, aren't necessarily allergic. And they might be really interested. That was just something I noted down in my head.

Omar is hinting that the smell could be something unsuspecting among the volunteers and a potential deterrent to volunteering. Candice echoed a similar thought when she said, "This is not easy work. Sometimes the smelliness keeps volunteers away or they just have other things to do" (Field Notes, 7/12/15). During one of my observational shifts, I saw two young volunteers walk in with shirts over their noses. They are college-aged, wearing shorts and t-shirts, but clearly the smell was affecting them (Field Notes 6/23/15). Type II dirty work involved coming to the messy facilities and engaging it in

some capacity. However, some of the dirty work was unique to the roles these volunteers hold at SPD.

Time Volunteering in Type II Roles. Another defining characteristic of the Smudged Volunteers is that these volunteers were not present doing the work as much as other types of volunteers. If the Smudged Volunteers spent more time at SPD, they would be exposed to more feces, more scratches, and more smells. The Smudged Volunteers were essentially limited to their exposure to the dirty work by not being present as much as other volunteers.

Overall, the average time volunteering percentage for Type II dirty work was 9%, the second lowest among all the types. This means that of their collective time they are not working outside of volunteering, these volunteers only spend nine percent of their time working at SPD. The low percentage makes some sense when considering that some of the volunteers—specifically April and Omar—are new volunteers. The second reason it is low is that some of the shift requirements may not be as stringent. In the people-facing roles, there are other volunteers, and employees, who are able to replace or substitute for those volunteers. For example, Brooklyn is on the matchmaking team, but only comes to SPD on the weekends. During the weekends, there are two employees and another volunteer performing the same role. In other words, Brooklyn has the support of her team if she is not able to be there.

The people-facing roles are still instrumental for the organization, but they are not as pressing as some of the more animal-centric roles. In fact, the Type II dirty work is characterized by its small amount of physical grossness. Picking up after a dog is not fun,

but it is not as serious as some of the other roles at SPD. The Smudged Volunteers are those who are comfortable working at SPD and engage some dirty element of the work for short periods of time. The Type III dirty work shows a marked increase in both the dirtiness of the work and the volunteers' exposure to the dirtiness.

Identification and disidentification of Smudged Volunteers. The Smudged Volunteers constructed and enacted multiple identifications in their work and through their communication. Julius is a dog walking mentor and he communicated multiple identifications with the organization and with the animals at SPD. Julius identified with the organization by exhibiting a sense of pride when he wore his SPD shirt. He said, "People love what this organization is doing, and it just makes you feel like you walk a little taller and prouder when you're wearing one of these APA shirts, because people know it." Julius felt some sense of loss when he talked about his identification with the animals. He said, "Now that I've been mentoring I don't get that connection the way I used to. I had several of them when I was just doing the walking that some of them I'd take out on my boat and they become your best buddy." When talking with Julius, he would switch between the identification and the animals as a source of identification. When I asked him about the dirty nature of the work, he emphasized his identification with the dogs as a way to embrace the dirty work. Julius said:

> If I'm having a miserable day, I drive up there [Briar Oaks shelter], sit in the middle of six puppies jumping on you, nothing else matters then. But yeah, I mean, there's nothing that can beat that, so even, anymore, when I come in, I don't smell it.

Julius connects his identification with the dogs as a way of overcoming the dirtiness of the dogs. Since Julius identifies with the organization and the animals, he is able to draw from either the animals or the organization as a way to manage the dirty work at SPD.

The second way in which the Smudged Volunteers dealt with dirty work was through switching identifications. Instead of maintaining multiple identifications at the organization, some volunteers constructed new identifications as they changed roles. Kayla came to SPD wanting to walk dogs, but then she started working on the volunteer committee and volunteering in roles that primarily involved people. She expressed some loss, but a clear separation from walking the dogs:

> I haven't walk a dog on my own without being in a mentor session or a group session or whatever in a long time. I can't decide whether or not I feel bad about that. Sometimes I do and sometimes I don't sometimes I think like you know I put my treat pouch on and I see my bracelets, I don't know I probably should come up 30 minutes earlier, come in late but I don't, don't do that…There are plenty of times that had I not been connected to the volunteer team and had this other piece I probably would have walked away.

Kayla explains and walks through some of the transition points of her identification switching. She starts off at SPD by identifying with the dogs and experiencing that attachment. Now, she does not even feel bad about not walking the dogs at all. She now identifies with the people at SPD in the form of her team. The identification with her team led to her overcoming some of the challenging aspects of work at SPD.

The Smudged Volunteers enacted multiple identifications and the switching of identifications to complete the dirty work at SPD. Some volunteers, such as Julius, maintained and managed multiple identifications, but others, like Kayla, switched between identifications when faced with challenging aspects of the work. The enactment of these communicated identifications shows how volunteers use multiple identifications to endure dirty work at SPD.

Type III: The Filthy Volunteers

The volunteers that perform Type III dirty work are the most common volunteers at SPD. The dirty work completed by these volunteers consist of regular handling of animals while working and an increase in the difficulty of dogs that are handled. In other words, these volunteers work directly with the animals and work with animals that are not well-behaved animals. These volunteers are also involved in more intense cleaning processes and are exposed to some of the more serious health issues that the animals face.

The Type III dirty work contains all of the same dirty work included in Type I and Type II dirty work. This means that Type III dirty work includes working on-site and smelling the smells, working with animal feces, and handling the animals. Type III dirty work builds more on the intensity of the work. Instead of walking dogs that are easy to walk, the volunteers in this category walk big, aggressive dogs. The Filthy Volunteers have progressed through most of the dog behavior training courses provided by SPD and thus, they are able to walk the majority of the dogs at the shelter.

Examples of Type III Dirty Work. Type III dirty work is characterized by work that involves cleaning the kennels at SPD and walking some of the larger and more dangerous dogs at SPD. All of the volunteers who performed Type III dirty work at SPD were part of the dog-walking team at SPD. There were some volunteers, like Violet and Eva, who also participated on other teams such as the mentor team. However, they still handled difficult dogs enough to fit into the Type III category of dirty work. The dog-walking team is a large team of volunteers who walk dogs from the kennel to a pen located in the main courtyard area of SPD. The volunteers are responsible for putting the collars and walking equipment on the animals in the correct manner and safely walking them to the pen. In the following section, I describe some of the examples of Type III dirty work to show the extent of the dirtiness of the work that the volunteers endure at SPD.

The dog-walking role is a highly visible role at SPD. Volunteers can see, and are seen, by the other volunteers, employees, and potential adopters. Violet mentioned how coming to SPD and walking dogs helped her get more involved in leadership roles:

> I was really active. I was here probably every weekend helping with kennel-teching [cleaning] and walking dogs. Always walking dogs. I was doing 20 plus hours a month or more. Just being here after work and things like that and helping in like at lunch and things like that.

Walking dogs allowed Violet to be seen by other volunteers and she soon entered leadership roles as a result. Ultimately she became the lead mentor for all of the dog-

walking mentors. The visibility of dog walking is one factor that helped her become more involved in other areas of the organization.

The volunteers primarily dealt with animal feces when they took the dogs to the pens and on walks outside of the main facility—advanced walkers could walk the dogs around the property outside the kennel area. For example, I walked with Raymond to the trail outside the facilities and he cleaned up some poo. I recorded that, "On the way back from the kayak landing, Bruno [the dog] took a poo. Raymond used two bags and swept up a lot of dirt when he got the poo. He said he hates the poo part of the work" (Field Notes, 7/06/15). The use of two bags was one way to help Raymond feel farther from the feces. In one of the grosser encounters, Cecilia cleaned up after one of the dogs and then she said, "Aww, gross, I got a little bit on my hand" (Field Notes, 9/11/15).

Cecilia's response to the feces on her hand shows that even though some of the volunteers were not enthused about the dirty work, they still participated in the dirty work as part of their role at SPD. Similarly, Raymond expressed the same annoyance by the feces:

> When I have poop in my hand, we walk to the closest trash barrel, and we don't dilly dally. So we walk to it. We don't stop to sniff. When I have poop, it's just to the barrel. Then we can go back to playing. I don't play with poop in my hand.

Raymond rushes to throw away the bags of feces as quickly as possible. Clearly, he does not enjoy that part of the work, but he willingly tolerates the poo parts of the job. He continues to do the work. In addition to the dirtiness of the animals, Type III work

becomes increasingly more dangerous due to the types of dogs that advanced dog walkers are able to take on a walk.

The dog behavior training process provides volunteers with the skills, knowledge and practice to work with some of the difficult dogs at SPD. Many of the dogs enter the shelter with some issues and the paid behavior staff work on training the dogs to be more adoptable. The employees and volunteers at SPD describe some of the dogs through their "mouthy" behavior. The term "mouthy" refers to when a dog puts its teeth on you, but does so in a playful way and has no intent to bite or harm you. The behavior training helps to prepare you for how to deal with these types of dogs. Eva, an experienced dog walker who has passed all of the training courses, explains the mouthy dogs:

> Now, if – mouthings can be very strong. It can bruise you. I have been bruised all up and down my arms and all up and down my legs. They don't mean it. The intent is totally to play, be silly and all this stuff. But if a mouthing breaks skin—because when it breaks skin the intent isn't important, it's just you've gotten a bite. So we have to learn how to – we have to discourage that.

Eva describes bites in terms of mouthings and emphasizes the role of the volunteer in encouraging biting behavior. The potential to receive a bite is another dangerous component in working at SPD and signifies Type III dirty work. Even though Eva mentioned and referred to mouthing incidents, none of the Filthy Volunteers reported personal stories of serious bite incidents that happened at SPD.

Dealing with the mouthy dogs can be challenging enough, but the mere size of the dog can be a difficult component as well. The dog becomes dangerous in its ability to get

out of the control of the walker, which is a very dangerous proposition. Most of the dogs at SPD were full-grown dogs and weighed more than fifty pounds. The size of the dog was intimidating to volunteers who had never handled dogs that big. Nettie, for example, said:

> I mean, these were dogs that I'd never met before and I've never had a bigger dog. I mean, my dog is about 50 pounds but other than him – and I'd just gotten him. I'd always had Shih Tzus and Yorkies [small dogs] and so I didn't know what to do with a 50-pound dog and I felt completely unprepared and that kind of really deterred me.

Nettie acknowledges that she was unprepared for the size of dogs that she would be dealing with at SPD. One volunteer, during an orange-collared training session, shared that she had a difficult time with some of the larger dogs. Specifically, Carol mentioned to Krista, "Sometimes it is hard to hold back the larger dogs" (Field Notes, 6/30/15).

Volunteers who participated in Type III dirty work also performed different cleaning activities. One day, there was an email sent to all of the SPD volunteers to ask for emergency help cleaning kennels that had not been used for years. The kennel area had been previously closed and deemed, "condemned" by the city of Metropolis. The city granted a special release that the kennel could be temporarily used to house a large overflow of dogs from recent flooding in the area. The kennels were covered in vines, various animal feces, and potential other critters. I wrote in my notes:

> There was ivy—hopefully not poison—overflowing the fence on the left in front of the kennels. Some of the ivy made it all the way to the lights. The lights were

> probably non-operational, but they were covered in brown, spider web-like cocoons of dirt and dust and cobwebs. (Field Notes, 6/30/15)

At the beginning of the project, I worked with another volunteer, Sergio, and then other volunteers joined about 30 minutes into the work. Sergio used a motorized weed eater to trim the vines outside and I was cleaning out each kennel with a large broom. After about an hour of work, I talked to Sergio and noted:

> He stopped and had so much debris and crap on his face that I was genuinely worried if it was poison ivy. He had a new beard that was littered with brown and green specs. He said he was going to weed wack the kennel-less side and then put up the weed eater. (Field Notes, 6/30/15)

The work that day, and most days, can be very filthy in dealing just with the facilities themselves.

The Type III Dirty Work consists of deep cleaning activities, working with animal filth more regularly, and dealing with difficult and dangerous dogs. Type III dirty work was common at SPD and was the most common type of dirty work among the participants for this study. From the volunteers I interviewed for this study, 18 of the 38 participants could be qualified as regularly doing Type III dirty work. The Filthy Volunteers were also shown to commit their time to SPD.

Time Volunteering in Type III Roles. The Filthy Volunteers averaged 13% of their free time volunteering. While this may not seem like a lot, it is four percentage points more than the Smudged Workers. This point is particularly interesting because the work becomes increasingly more difficult and dirty. There are a couple of reasons as to

why volunteers may spend more of their free time walking dogs as opposed to working in more of a Type I or Type II dirty work role.

First, almost all the volunteers expressed some interest in working with animals. There were some select volunteers who identified more with the social component of SPD, but even these volunteers either expressed regret from not being with the animals as much (e.g. Kayla) or continued to work alongside animals and people (e.g. Violet). The strength of the identification with the animals varied across volunteers, but volunteers either were "here for the dogs" (Kathryn), or "adored the dogs" (Elaine). Since these volunteers expressed a motivation or desire to be with the animals, they enacted that behavior by enduring some of the dirty components of volunteering with SPD. Being with the dogs may be an important motivator in bringing these volunteers back to work through more dirty work.

Secondly, the dog-walking volunteer work—which comprises most of the Filthy Volunteers—is some of the most flexible work at SPD. The volunteers are asked to use a volunteer management system call, "Vol Squared." The online system allows volunteers to sign up for volunteer tasks and then select how long they will be volunteering. I found that most volunteers do not use this system. Only one volunteer mentioned that she used this system. Volunteers, instead, show up and walk dogs when they are available. The arrangement is complementary in that the dogs are walked quicker when more volunteers are present and the volunteers have the flexibility to come up for an hour when they are available. While the goal of dog walking is to get the dogs to go to the bathroom in the mornings and evenings, some volunteers focus on giving the dogs enrichment. Nettie

works primarily on training the dogs and also focuses in on certain dogs. So, when she comes, she may not even be serving the overall goal of getting as many dogs out as possible. Since she is so focused on the dogs, this may result in more time at SPD.

Thirdly, volunteers in this category participated in multiple roles at SPD. Violet, for example, leads the mentor team, hosts volunteer groups on the weekend, and works on dog behavior. In the same vein, Gertrude is a long-term volunteer who helps lead presentations at volunteer orientations and she is a very active dog walker. Eva said that she arrives at SPD thirty minutes before her scheduled mentor session so that she can meet new dogs and walk them. The dual roles could lead to an increase in responsibility and time commitment on the part of the volunteers who participate in Type III dirty work.

Lastly, the volunteers who completed Type III dirty work also started to lead some of the different teams at SPD. The recognition and empowerment of being in a leadership role may also be motivating for volunteers at SPD. For example, Paulo was highly regarded by both members of his team (Brooklyn) and by employees at SPD (Lucy). He quickly became a leader in the matchmaking team and has led the matchmaking team to received external funding for additional mobile technologies and for a designated matchmaking area. The increased responsibility not only increases his identification with his team, but it also may lead him to commit more time to dirty work at SPD. Three of the 18 volunteers that participated in Type III dirty work are in leadership positions at SPD.

Identification and disidentification of Filthy Volunteers. The volunteers who performed Type III dirty work were unique in that they worked in the difficult roles and

positions for more time than the Smudged Volunteers. As the dirtiness of the work increases, the volunteers seem to be more committed to spend their free time at SPD. The Filthy Volunteers used two strategies to tolerate the dirty work at SPD: (a) reinforcing identifications, and (b) used disidentification and identification simultaneously.

In order to face some of the dirty work at SPD volunteers reified their identifications by drawing up on them when describing why they perform certain tasks. Della, who primarily performed Type III dirty work, expressed a strong identification with the animals at SPD. She situates her ability to overcome dirty work by explaining an established identification with animals. She said that this helped her in preparing for some of the dangerous work at SPD:

> Well, I had a Rottweiler for ten years so I'm kinda like, okay, I've been around big dogs. And my brother's dog, she grew up from a puppy to an 80-pound dog and I walked her for a couple of months while he was getting a house. So – and she's a bloodhound so she's very big, you know, the size of Antony, but weighs more my kinda dog. I'm like, 'I can do this. I can do this.' I've had to pull dogs apart. So, in my mind I'm ok.

Della's experience has created a strong identification not just with dogs, but big dogs. Since these dogs have been part of her life in the past, she is more comfortable in dealing with some of the difficulties of working with large animals.

The Filthy Volunteers at SPD also used their disidentifications to reinforce their primary identification. Raymond had a strong organizational identification with SPD. He loved the organization and particularly cared about where it was located. He had

experience at previous shelters, but still did not enjoy the dirty work. Raymond said, "I've had dogs for a long time, but I volunteered with basset hound rescue when I lived in Florida because I have basset hounds." Having volunteered a shelter before seems like it would have prepared Raymond for some of the dirty work at SPD. But, when I asked him, "What is your least favorite part about volunteering at SPD?" As he leaned down to pick up poo using two bags (Field Notes, 7/06/15), he said, "This is my absolute least favorite."

Raymond's experience may be explained by his attachment with the organization and not the animals. Raymond primarily volunteered because he "just didn't want to sit around and watch TV." He enjoyed walking dogs, but had a weak tie to the organization and weak tie to working with the animals. Since Raymond disliked the dirtiness of the dogs, it may have been difficult for him to identify with that part of the work. Instead, he identified with the organization so that he would be able to remain committed to the work despite the dirtiness of it.

The volunteers who participate in Type III dirty work are willing to tolerate an increasingly gross level of dirtiness at SPD. These volunteers subject themselves to physical harm, unpredictable animal behavior, and vast amounts of dog feces. The willingness to continue to subject themselves to Type III dirty work shows the commitment these volunteers have at SPD. The Filthy Volunteers reinforced existing identifications to overcome the dirtiness of the work.

Type IV: Dangerously Devoted Volunteers

In sum, Type IV dirty work is differentiated from the other categories of dirty work by its seriousness. I use the word 'serious' to describe this category of work because there is an element of gravity involved in the work of the Dangerously Devoted Volunteers. The volunteers who participated in Type IV dirty work regularly exposed themselves to intense harm from aggressive animals, illnesses through handling sick animals, and held the weightiness of life and death in their hands.

Type IV dirty work contains all of the dirtiness of Types I-III dirty work listed above. The severity of the work increases markedly with Type IV dirty work and the volunteers that complete this work commit the most percentage of their free time to come and do this work (37%). To understand this type of dirty work and the volunteers who regularly completed this dirty work, I will further explain the different roles the volunteers performed as part of this work, support these with examples, and conclude by discussing the influence of time on these volunteers.

Examples of Type IV Dirty Work. Type IV dirty work involved volunteers who most regularly worked on the dog-behavior team, dog-walking team, and kitten nursery team. The dog-behavior team is in charge of training other volunteers to learn how to handle the dogs at SPD. The behavior team members, such as Krista, will host training sessions on their own with newer volunteers. The behavior team is expected to know how to deal with difficult dogs and they are also expected to be able to teach others how to deal with difficult dogs.

The behavior team is also important because they work one-on-one with dogs that have specific behavior issues. For example, one dog at SPD "had an obsession with plastic" and "he would think that anything that was plastic was his and he would react if someone took it from him" (Field Notes, 7/12/15). The behavior team would help train dogs like this one to be able to remove that habit so that they might be more adoptable.

The behavior team was also responsible for evaluating the behavior of the dogs. When a new dog entered the kennels, the behavior team would designate the dog as a "pink dog" or a "blue dog" based on its behavior and past experiences. If a pink dog started to jump on volunteers and mouth them, the behavior team would move this dog from being a pink-collared dog to a blue-collared dog. The role inherently incurred a large amount of risk simply by being around unpredictable dogs most of the time.

The dog-walking team also participated in Type IV dirty work. Similar to the behavior team, these volunteers handle dangerous animals on a regular basis. The time they spend with these animals opens themselves up to more bites, scratches, or mouthings. The dog-walking team works closely with the dog-behavior team to help provide any information about a dog's behavior that might influence a change in collar color or its adoptability. The dog-walking team members that are qualified to walk the most advanced dogs are critical to the organization's commitment to walking dogs twice a day.

The dog walking team encounters bites from dogs during the volunteer work. The amount of experience and time spent at SPD only appeared to increase the likelihood of a bite incident. Marta spends almost 40 hours a week volunteering at SPD and she handles

the most aggressive dogs for her volunteer responsibilities. In my notes, I recorded that she said:

> Marta said that she had been bitten a bunch of times. When she figured it all out, she probably was bitten two percent of the time. Levi and Duane—the behavior trainers—had been bitten before, but Marta had probably been bitten the most. Levi and Duane had been bitten when they were breaking up dogfights in the playgroups, but Marta was bitten more by upset dogs. (Field Notes, 7/06/15)

The excerpt from my notes shows that bite incidents were common and possible while working at SPD either as an employee or a volunteer. Marta spends a large amount of time with the animals and this results in more bites.

Blake, an experienced dog walker, talked about the process of figuring out why a particular dog kept biting him: "And we started to figure things out like, he's a little dog, and he wants up in your lap, so you start to pick him up, and he bites you." Blake's brief account acknowledges that there is an element of unpredictability as to why certain dogs bite. The inability to recognize a particular cause of the biting creates a constant threat of biting for some of the dogs at SPD.

I share these two incidents to show the regular danger that faces volunteers that walk dogs at SPD. The unpredictable nature of the work and the dangerous consequences show the commitment and willingness of Dangerously Devoted Volunteers to risk physical health to continue to do the work at SPD. Volunteers also endured dirty work by working with animals that were sick and facing severe health issues.

SPD also houses dogs and cats that suffer from common to serious illnesses. In traditional shelters, these animals would be euthanized. SPD has a clinic on site and employs veterinarians, but is only operates on animals with the most pressing issues. Multiple times during my observations I saw pregnant dogs (Field Notes, 12/03/15; Field Notes, 10/27/15) and heard about an emergency C-section (Field Notes, 7/06/15). These operations are often privileged over some of the daily health issues of the dogs and cats at SPD.

All of the volunteers faced health issues any time they interacted with a dog or stepped foot on the property. During the volunteer orientations, the presenters make sure that they talk about some of the common health issues with the dogs and cats. For example, the presenter at one of the volunteer orientations, Gertrude, said:

> Sanitation is very important. We don't want to pass anything from your dogs to the dogs here or vice versa. We appreciate that you are here and want to share your love for animals. When I get home, I took my shoes off and put them right in the washer. It's common sense. (Field Notes, 7/12/15)

The volunteers risk bringing back certain diseases that can only be passed from animal to animal and animal to human. In some cases the work itself could result in minor physical discomfort, such as ringworm, but there were greater risks if a volunteer carried an illness from one animal to an animal at the volunteer's home.

The final team that regularly participates in Type IV dirty work is the kitten nursery. This program takes care of about 150 kittens and feeds them within the first six weeks of life. The program is responsible for going to get the kittens, transporting them

to SPD, and then feeding them every couple of hours. Since the work with the kittens is highly specialized, there are two additional trainings that volunteers must progress through before they can start shadowing other volunteers and feeding kittens. Additionally, the volunteers in the kitten nursery program are required to sign a contract that explains they will commit to three hours of feeding once a week.

The contract helps to spell out the expectations for the commitment of the Bottle Baby program. By signing the contract, the volunteers understand that they are expected to be in the nursery at their allotted time, every week. If a volunteer misses unexpectedly, they are removed from the program and the coordinator finds a replacement as soon as possible (Grace). The kitten program is one of the few programs at SPD where volunteers can be "fired."

The goal for each volunteer is to feed as many kittens as possible during their three-hour shift. The feeders are trained to read the charts that tell what each specific kitten needs. Then, according to Miranda, the process is "weigh, feed, weigh." The volunteers must note any changes in weight and determine how much it needs to eat. Miranda works in the nursery and describes the type of work the paid feeders and volunteers face at SPD:

> It's a terrible job. For being overnight it is really hard. Kittens can and will die, and a lot of them [overnight feeders] will feel obligated to stay to feed the kittens because nobody comes in between 3:00 a.m. to 6:00 a.m. not paid.

Miranda talks about the certainty of facing kittens that have recently died or dying. Working with animals in this fragile state has an effect on the volunteers. Miranda also

said that because she was working with such fragile lives, she and the other volunteers, "are under pressure to keep feeding the kittens." Tabitha echoed the same pressure and talked about the emotional nature of the dirty work. She said:

> I'm sure you can well imagine, it's very emotional. So it's very emotionally charged. You get someone in there and all they're thinking is, "Cute, fluffy kitten. Oh, yay! And it drinks from a bottle!" And then they get in there and it's like, "Oh my god, it's going to die." It will. And it will die.

The kitten nursery volunteers face life and death in their work regularly. The training prepared them to encounter the reality that kittens may die, but they still come and perform the work.

The Dangerously Devoted Volunteers encounter and endure an intense amount of physical dirtiness in their work at SPD. The potential for dog bites, scratches, and illnesses does not deter the volunteers from working at SPD. Additionally, Dangerously Devoted Volunteers interact and are involved in the life and death of the animals at SPD. The examples of the severity and dirtiness of the work show the potential barriers for these volunteers to remain a part of the organization.

Time and Type IV Dirty Work. Somewhat surprisingly, the volunteers who worked in the dirtiest roles spent the most time doing this type of work. Overall, the Dangerously Devoted Volunteers spent 37 percent of their free time volunteering at SPD. This means that of the time these volunteers had available after work or on the weekends, they spent more than a third of that time working with SPD. The revelation that these volunteers spend their free time at SPD is counter-intuitive in that it would also make

sense that since these volunteers are doing the dirtiest work, they should minimize the time in which they do the work. However, the data show that the opposite was true in this study.

The volunteers who perform Type IV dirty work are the most involved and committed volunteers at SPD. Some of the volunteers (e.g. Marta, Krista) have full-time jobs, but work at SPD as almost another full-time job. Other Dangerously Devoted Volunteers are retired (e.g. Blake, Eva), but they spend most of their time at SPD. The Dangerously Devoted Volunteers used their identification and disidentification to persevere in the challenges of extreme dirty work.

Identification and disidentification of dangerously devoted volunteers. Dangerously Devoted Volunteers utilize their identification to endure the dirtiness of the work. The primary way in which the Dangerously Devoted Volunteers persevere through the dirty work at SPD was by creating identifications with the animals and also constructing disidentifications with the organization. In this section, I highlight two specific Dangerously Devoted Volunteers —Annette and Miranda—and describe the link between their identifications, disidentifications, and dirty work.

Annette identified primarily with the dogs at SPD. She expressed this in the way she talked about the dogs and also in how she treated the animals. Annette came to SPD because a friend's dog died and her friend wanted to come walk dogs. Annette came with her friend and "just kept walking this one senior dog until he got adopted. Then I just started walking Royal because he was another one that seemed to get ignored a lot." When Annette describes her work at SPD, she emphasizes the welfare of the dogs. She

said that her motivation to keep coming to SPD was, “If a volunteer is not taking them out there’s a good chance they’re getting out for two or three minutes.” She continued, “That’s also what’s kind of kept me coming back because I think that it helps them not be as stressed in the kennel.” Annette acknowledges her attachment to the animals, “All I know is I know myself and I think that’s why I volunteered as far as not doing more inventive stuff than dog walking because I do get very attached.”

Annette’s strong identification with the animals, even specific animals may provide an extra way to deal with some of the dirtiness she encounters on a regular basis. But in addition to her identification with the animals at SPD, she also articulates a clear disidentification with the organization. In the following quote, Annette describes her disidentification with the organization by criticizing some of the management practices:

> There's no one actually to talk to. When we go it's frustrating. I talked to everyone. I even talked to Valarie and Dorothy. Yeah, he's getting blood tests and then when we would ask about the results at the clinic, ‘oh, he's getting an ultrasound’ [they said]. ‘What are the results?’ ‘They're not in yet’ [they said].

Here she expresses some frustration with the lack of communication from the organization concerning some of the animals. Annette told one final story about a dog that died at SPD who needed test and the clinic did not run any tests. Annette offered to pay for the tests the dog needed, but it died that same day. Annette created skepticism toward the organization following these incidents. She said, “That's why I just started paying attention more. You realize that everybody could see what's going on and they're not necessarily going to do anything to help the dogs.”

Miranda also expressed the same identification with the animals and disidentification with the organization. Miranda works in the kitten nursery program where she feeds kittens that are weeks old. She communicates her identification with the animals through her main motivation upon joining the organization. She initially was interested in working with kittens by "watching a live stream kitten cam [online camera] that summer that my sister sent me. She said, 'Look at this,' and I kind of got hooked on that one litter more than I had before." The act of getting 'hooked' on the kittens shows an affinity for the kittens that is also represented in her desire to volunteer her time to work with kittens.

Miranda described her disidentification with the organization through some of the dirtiness of the facilities early on when she mentioned that, "the whole facility smelled like cat poop, which is really bad." But she also expressed a distinct disidentification later when I asked her about her experience as a volunteer. She said:

> SPD has also challenged me though in the faults that I have perceived in thinking, sometimes I don't want to get more involved because I don't want to know more, because I might think it's being mismanaged on a larger level, and that's probably just what I'm bringing to the table, so that's why I'm thinking, 'I'm just going to feed the kittens that are in front of me.'

In this reflection upon her self-perception and the organization, Miranda describes how she uses disidentification from the organization to increase her focus on the task at hand, the kittens. She uses the disidentification to push away from the organization and back on to her primary identification target, the kittens at SPD.

The Dangerously Devoted Volunteers are unique in that they actively use disidentifications and identifications to push away from one aspect of the work so that they might identify with another aspect of the work. The findings show how the volunteers communicated these identifications and then enacted them in the work they did at SPD. Instead of disidentification leading toward separation from the organization, the volunteers used disidentification to strengthen their identification.

Summary of Types of Dirty Work at SPD

In sum, four types of dirty work emerged from the interview and observational data at SPD. These four types of dirty work are not only important to understand the volunteer experience, but they also describe the context in which they are working. The data show that they roles in which the volunteers worked and the extent to which they worked determined the amount of dirty work encountered. One unusual finding is that those who encountered the most dirty work, worked the most. This finding appears to be counterintuitive considering the dirtiness of the work.

By looking at the work of the volunteers, the data show how the volunteers enacted their identifications. The focus of this chapter is to examine the relationship between the identification and disidentifications of the volunteers and the dirtiness of the work. The findings show that the volunteers performed different types of dirty work and that each different type of dirty work showed unique uses of identification and disidentification to endure the dirtiness of the work. The value of looking at the actual work enables a validity check for the data in the interviews. Not only did the volunteers

say that they constructed certain identifications, but I was able to *see* them identify through their work at SPD.

The second main reason that it is important to study the work of volunteers at SPD is to understand how they dealt and negotiated with their identities through challenging situations. The next major section addresses how the volunteers used multiple identifications, switched between identifications, and constructed disidentifications with the organization. The following section shows how the dirty work component of working at SPD influenced their identity construction and negotiation for the volunteers at SPD.

THE UTILITY OF (DIS)IDENTIFICATION TO ENDURE DIRTY WORK

The purpose of this chapter is to explore some of the work consequences of identification and disidentification of the volunteers at SPD. Table 5.2 summarizes the different types of dirty work the volunteers engaged in, the type of stigma faced by the work, and examples of how volunteers used identification to overcome some of the dirtiness of the work at SPD. The volunteers who worked primarily with Type I and Type II dirty work did not struggle as much to cope with the dirty work since it was still not very "dirty" to them. Also, the frequency with which these volunteers performed dirty work is still much less than the other volunteers. These volunteers tended to rely on past experience to endure some of the dirty work at SPD.

As the type of dirty work intensified, volunteers began to use different tactics to cope with the dirty work at SPD. Filthy Volunteers started to shift their identifications from one target, the animals, to another target, such as the social component of

volunteering. The Filthy Volunteers also used multiple identifications to balance out any negative influence of the dirty work on the volunteers. Lastly, the volunteers described themselves in different terms when talking about dirty work.

The most intriguing finding of this section shows that the volunteers who performed Type IV dirty work used disidentification to push away from one organizational target so that they might strengthen their identification with another. Also, the Dangerously Devoted Volunteers had strong identifications with the animals and the animals alone. The clear "anti" organizational alignment (e.g., Annette, Miranda) was used strategically to create distance from their identification target. By focusing on the animals, the Dangerously Devoted Volunteers were able to overcome the dirtiness of the work and remain highly committed and involved at SPD.

In addition to using disidentification to endure the dirty work, volunteers utilized strong, intense identification to cope with the challenges of their work. The Dangerously Devoted Volunteers communicated their strong attachment to the animals by explicitly mentioning it and showing it in their work. The strength of the attachment to the animals may allow the Dangerously Devoted volunteers to cope with the dirtiness of the work. The volunteers attempt to "reframe, recalibrate, and refocus" (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999, p. 429) the stigma associated with dirty work by constructing strong identifications with the animals.

The findings in this chapter indicate that volunteers appear to be using various identifications, simultaneously to cope with some of the challenges of their work. In regards to dirty work, the data show the dirtiness of the work that volunteers routinely

and voluntarily engage in at SPD. The mere fact that they are not just volunteering their time, but they are volunteering their time to engage in "physical and social taint" (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999; Ashforth & Kreiner, 2014) shows that the dedicated volunteers at SPD developed strong attachments to the organization, animals, and the people at the shelter. Paid employees of dirty work occupations are able to cope with the stigma of the dirty work by constructing new ideologies and creating strong workplace cultures (Ashcraft & Kreiner, 1999); however, at SPD, volunteers referred to neither of these as a way of resolving dirty work in their jobs. Instead, volunteers shifted their focus on what was most important and what they identified with in that moment (Scott & Stephens, 2009). In doing this, they were able to switch between identifications, utilize multiple identifications, and disidentify from the organization to identify with the animals.

CHAPTER 6: THE DESIRABILITY OF MULTIPLE IDENTIFICATIONS OF VOLUNTEERS

The volunteer perspective is valuable in understanding how peripheral members of organizations construct identifications with multiple organizational targets (Chapter 3). These organizational members not only construct identifications, but some members also define themselves in opposition to the organization, or disidentify with the organization (Chapter 4). The multiple, conflicting identifications are expressed and constructed in communication and are enacted in the work of the organizational members (Chapter 5). The need remains, however, to examine how the organization itself manages volunteer members with varying and complex identifications. The perspective of the volunteers is important in understanding how identifications influence their work, but the organization's efforts to manage these volunteers will glean more insight into the influence of the organization on the identification processes of volunteers.

MANAGING MULTIPLE IDENTIFICATIONS: CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

This chapter extends the study of volunteer identification and disidentification into the realm of volunteer management studies by examining *how* non-profit organizations manage volunteers who have multiple, complicated identifications. Past research has investigated the problems in managing individuals with multiple identifications (Larson & Pepper, 2003) and found that organizational members used comparison, logical statements, and social support to negotiate multiple identities during a time of organizational change. The findings are important in that they link communication to the negotiation of identification, but the project looks at multiple

identifications in a for-profit, high tech company. The findings are helpful in understanding how for-profit company employees negotiate multiple identification targets (Larson & Pepper, 2003), but the authors do not consider how different types of members may identify differently with the organization.

Influence of Volunteer Membership on (Dis)Identification

The volunteer-organization dynamic is different than that of a paid staff member. In addition to the lack of financial remuneration, volunteers work in a space that can be more peripheral to the organization. Ashcraft and Kedrowicz (2002) describe some of the typical characteristics of volunteers that distinguish them from paid employees:

> Rarely are volunteers expected to exhibit specific credentials or experience; their job training tends to prove comparatively brief or sporadic, to the extent that they receive any…Moreover, volunteering entails unique temporal and spatial links to the organization, which affect interaction patters. Many volunteers are present infrequently; some conduct the bulk of their work outside formal organization space…As such, volunteers tend to perform part-time labor on the periphery, communicating intermittently with a limited and fluctuating group of members. (p. 91)

The important takeaway from understanding the differences between volunteers and employees is that volunteers create fickle bonds with non-profit organizations. The bond between the volunteer and the non-profit organization is likely affected by the different behaviors of volunteer workers, but there is still a bias in the research toward understanding how paid employees bond with their organizations. Scholars have studied

the identification processes of paid employees (e.g., Cheney, 1983a; Cheney, 1983b; Dutton et al., 1994; Pratt, 2000; Scott, 1997) more than volunteers (e.g., Ashcraft & Kedrowicz, 2002; Steimel, 2013; Tornes & Kramer, 2015). The lack of research in this area and the unique nature of volunteer membership provide an opportunity for studies, such as this, to investigate identification and volunteer management.

Volunteer membership has also been differentiated through theoretical arguments that position it as something distinct from "real work" (Clair, 1996, p. 253). First, volunteers can be seen as having a different psychological contract with the organization (Rousseau, 1990). The psychological contract refers to the expectations between the volunteer and the organization. In typical for-profit membership contracts, the employee knows and understands how much she will be paid and any additional benefits that she might receive for the work that she does (Farmer & Fedor, 1999). In a volunteer-organization interaction, the contract becomes much more complicated since there is no remuneration for the labor (Nichols, 2013). Scholars have described this relationship as a "complex set of interactions" that influences how the paid staff members interact with the volunteers (Netting et al., 2004, p. 84). The membership of volunteers is uncertain at its outset.

Secondly, theorists have investigated the management of volunteers by investigating the motivation of volunteers (Adams, Schlueter, & Barge, 1988; Clary & Snyder, 1991; Oostlander, Güntert, van Schie, & Wehner, 2014). Primarily housed in the psychology research, motivation is theorized to be an important component to volunteers joining non-profit organizations (Clary & Snyder, 1991). If volunteers are motivated by

altruistic notions, for example, the organization needs to be able to provide opportunities for these volunteers to perceive that they are performing altruistic work (Ryan & Deci, 2000). These theorists use self-determination theory to claim that volunteer contexts trigger the internalization process where individuals establish certain behaviors and sustain these behaviors over time. More specifically, the internalization process is triggered by settings where individuals experience autonomy and a sense of connection with others (Ryan & Deci, 2000). Self-determination theory helps to understand why individuals will be motivated by a certain impetus and then continue to seek out that motivation. Volunteers, therefore, will continue to be motivated if they are able to maintain a sense of autonomy in their work and have relationships with other volunteers. If the motivations of volunteers are identified by non-profit organizations, then the organizations can use specific messaging to recruit and retain volunteers (Clary et al., 1994). This research is helpful in that it acknowledges the role of organizational communication in managing volunteers, but it provides little insight into the impact of managing volunteers after they become members of the organization.

Next, a large interest on volunteer and communication research looks at the intersection of volunteering and its position as work in a "third place/third space" (Ashcraft & Kedrowicz, 2002; Ganesh & McAllum, 2012; McNamee & Peterson, 2014; Kramer, 2011; Kramer et al., 2013). The "third place" concept references the prioritization of volunteer work in a person's life. Volunteer work is generally considered as something that is "third" on the priority list behind family life and professional work. The nature of this third place for volunteer work has interested scholars in looking at the

ways in which volunteers construct identities as volunteers when there are other priorities pulling the volunteer away from the work. Volunteering, then, exists on the periphery of an individual's priorities and identity. The tension created by other competing identities (e.g., work, family) creates additional confusion in teasing out the purposes, communication, and identification of volunteers. McNamee and Peterson (2014) articulate a similar claim when they said, "Volunteer activities and identifications are often interspersed with one's other activities and identifications, and this intermingling may be harmonious or contentious depending upon the individual and circumstances" (p. 5).

The work surrounding third place and third space is helpful in understanding where volunteering fits in an individual's life holistically. However, McNamee and Peterson's (2014) work provides research understanding how organizations manage volunteers with shifting, multiple, and duplicitous identities. In this article, they identify four tensions that managers at non-profit organizations regularly face when leading volunteers: (a) attraction-adjustment, (b) ownership-oversight, (c) formalization-flexibility, and (d) intimacy-distance. The tension-centered approach to volunteer management highlights the complexity of managing volunteers. McNamee and Peterson (2014) offer recommendations based upon these tensions that help to navigate some of the difficulties in managing volunteers who construct liminal identifications with non-profit organizations. For example, the authors suggest that managers should practice reframing the onboarding process to look more like realistic job previews (Jablin, 2001) so that managers are able to realistically communicate the expectations for the volunteers

and the volunteer work (McNamee & Peterson, 2014). This tension-centered approach to volunteer management and communication is helpful, but relies on interview data solely that may not provide a complete picture of how managers communicate with and coordinate volunteer-employee relationships in non-profit organizations. Additionally, the present study seeks to build on this approach by addressing the communication of the organization to manage multiple volunteer identifications.

Lastly, the research on volunteer management and membership in organizations can be unclear and contradictory at times. Adams and colleagues (1988) focused on managers' interactions with volunteers and found that volunteers are more satisfied with they have less responsibility for organizational decision-making. This pushes against some of the research that supports the active voicing of volunteers in non-profit organizations (Garner & Garner, 2011). Similarly, some scholars provide evidence that volunteer organizations should not encourage involvement and recruit volunteers (Iverson, 2013), but in the same edited book another author recommends that volunteer organizations should not try to increase participation so that the volunteers are not stressed at the organization (Cruz, 2013). These contradictions illuminate the importance of context in studying volunteers and non-profit organizations. The past research also provides an opportunity to bring clarity to some of the polarizing findings regarding volunteer communication and participation.

Summary of Literature and Research Questions

By surveying the research on volunteer management, communication, and managing identifications, the literature shows that: (a) research primarily privileges the

volunteer perspective, (b) volunteers form complicated identifications, and (c) context is tantamount in studying volunteer management and identification. Given the past research, I see the opportunity to learn more about how volunteers *are managed* from the perspective of the volunteers. Research has primarily sought to learn from volunteers (see exception Adams et al., 1998; McNamee & Peterson, 2014), but there is a gap in the research concerning how managers, employees, and the organization manage volunteers—and their complex identifications—in and through communication.

Therefore, the following analysis seeks to learn more about the ways in which organizations manage volunteers with multiple identifications. If the volunteers were all strongly identified with the organization only, it makes sense for the organization to communicate messages and interactions that foster and develop organizational identification. However, since there is evidence that volunteers identify with other aspects of the organization, such as the animals, the organization is left with the challenge of managing a wide array of identifications and attachments of volunteers. Larson and Pepper (2003) engage the question concerning how to manage multiple identifications, but the authors focus on paid employees and come from the perspective of the organizational members. Instead, this chapter seeks to extend this research by investigating a different type of organization-member relationship by looking at the multiple identifications of volunteer members in non-profit organizations. The first research question for this study is as follows:

RQ1: How does the organization play an active role organizational identification through communication among the volunteers?

The previous three chapters and other research (Ashcraft & Kedrowicz, 2002; Larson & Pepper, 2003; McNamee & Peterson, 2014) show the complexity of volunteer identification and disidentification. At times, the volunteer disidentification can be incredibly helpful for the volunteer in the organization-member relationship. If the volunteers disidentify with the organization but focus on the animals and complete the necessary tasks, the organization only benefits from the disidentification. However, there is less known about how different attachments might present challenges for organizational managers. The present study addresses this issue by proposing the following research question:

RQ2: How do managers and employees at SPD manage multiple—and fragmented—volunteer (dis)identifications?

Method for Identifying Volunteer Management Communication

To answer the research questions in this chapter, I analyzed a subset of the data from the participants who were employed by SPD. The leadership at SPD estimates that the official positions in the organization are 50% paid staff and 50% volunteer (Field Notes, 7/25/15). The roles are further complicated because there are some volunteers who are in leadership or management positions, but there are also employees who perform volunteer tasks. I officially interviewed seven employees at SPD to better understand how they managed the volunteers at SPD. Each of the employees managed a particular area or department of SPD and interacted with volunteers fairly regularly. The employees were in various roles such as dog adoption counselor manager, matchmaking team lead, dog behavior lead, bottle baby nursery manager, volunteer coordinator, executive

director, and community relations manager. The sample of employees consisted of two males and five females. Four of the employees I interviewed were volunteers before they were hired as employees (Grace, Amos, and Lucy). The formal interviews lasted, on average, 48 minutes and resulted in 145 pages of data.

In addition to the formal interviews with the paid staff members, I also conducted five informal interviews with other employees during my time in the field. For example, during my interview with a volunteer, Brooklyn, an employee, Juanita, came and spoke with us while we were talking. Juanita talked about her role at SPD and provided data helpful to understanding the interaction between volunteers and employees. There were five other instances similar to my interaction with Juanita where I recorded conversations I had with employees. These informal conversations also allowed me to observe how volunteers and employees interacted on a normal basis.

Orientations as a Site for Organizational Communication

Another primary source of data for the analysis of the volunteer management at SPD came from the volunteer orientations. The volunteer orientations provided the opportunity to understand how volunteers and management recruited and welcomed new volunteers into the organization. Volunteer orientations have been described as a moment where organizations can first develop identification with organizational newcomers (Cheney, 1983b). The orientation is an important part of the ongoing socialization process in organizations (Jablin, 2001), but the tendency of research is to focus on the impact or effectiveness of an orientation on an individual (e.g., Stephens & Dailey, 2012). Instead, this study views orientations from the organization's perspective as an

opportunity to project a desired organizational image (Dutton et al., 1994). The orientation, then, becomes an important site of organizational communication to newcomers.

The orientations at SPD were primarily conducted in the Singleton room at the Kentfield location (see Figure 1). The Singleton room is located in the Meade Building and consists of a large room that becomes filled with, sometimes, 100 chairs. The orientations consist of two main parts: (a) the presentation, and (b) the tour. The presentation at orientation introduced new volunteers to the purposes, processes, safety precautions, and volunteer opportunities to the potential volunteers. I use the term "potential volunteer" to refer to those individuals who attended the orientation, but had not yet volunteered for SPD in any capacity. The presentations normally included two speakers who split the hour and a half into two 45-minute sections. The presentation included information about how SPD was started as an organization and defined the no-kill mission of SPD. One of the key data points is a video the presenters showed and discussed from the current executive director who helped establish the current programs and structures that are in place now at SPD (see Table 6.1). After the video, the presenters talk through the purposes of SPD and some of the main goals of the programs. Then, the presenters walk through the safety precautions that every volunteers needs to take when on the property at Kentfield. There are reminders about working with poorly behaved dogs and how to avoid passing along any diseases from the animals at SPD to pets at home. Then the presenters conclude with a brief presentation of ways to donate financially, adopt, or foster animals at SPD.

The presenters of the orientation are members of the volunteer coordination team that helps to manage some of the volunteers. The members are volunteers themselves, but during my time at SPD, the presentation part of orientation changed slightly in that the volunteer coordinator replaced the volunteers during the presentation. I attended eight different volunteer orientations during my time in the field and the volunteer coordinator presented during the last three orientations. The volunteer coordinator instituted changes into the presentation content and these changes represent important turning points (Bullis & Bach, 1989) in the data.

Table 6.1 Volunteer Opportunities Presented at SPD Orientation for Potential Volunteers

Dog/Cat Volunteering	**Behind the Scenes**
Behavior	Adoption Phone Service
Big Brother Big Sister	Adoption Sites
Dog Walking	Animal Marketing
Matchmaking	Data Entry/Office Work
Parvo Puppy ICU	Development
Bottle Baby Nursery	Events
Ringworm Ward	Facilities
Foster	PR/Graphic Design
Transport	Medical
Photography	Volunteer Coordination

Note: Some of the names have been altered to preserve anonymity. These were pulled directly from a combination of the data from volunteer orientations and from the SPD website.

The final portion of the volunteer orientation is a tour of the facilities at Kentfield. Volunteers who happened to be at Kentfield walking dogs or working in some capacity led the tours. The tour guides organized the volunteers into groups of ten and then walked them through the different areas of the facility. The tour guides identified where the volunteers could immediately help and also where some of their future volunteer work would occur—such as the dog walking. The tours lasted about 15 minutes on average and

provided the opportunity for potential volunteers to ask questions. The tour guides used a checklist—created by the organization—to ensure that they covered all of the important topics on the tour.

The volunteer orientations provided excellent data to examine how and what the organization communicates with potential volunteers. Collecting data from the orientations were partially inspired by previous research that argues, "Orientation is not only a potentially important organizational activity but identification changes during orientation also suggest that it is clearly an activity for identity formation" (Stephens & Dailey, 2012, p. 414). By studying the orientation, I was able to gather insight into organizational messages that seek to shape the identity formation of the volunteers at SPD. The eight orientations resulted in 14 hours of observational work and the orientations alone, resulted in 76 pages of data.

In total, the data for this section of the dissertation consists of formal interviews of employees (7), informal interviews with employees (4), observations of employees' behavior, and observations of orientation presentations and tours. The resulting data set—including any observations of employees—amounts to 64 hours of observations and 213 pages of data.

Interview and Observational Data Analysis

The first stage of coding through the data consisted of an initial, open coding (Tracy, 2012). In this stage, I identified patterns across the employee interviews, orientations and observations of the employees. Keeping in mind the interpretive and emic nature of this study, I revisited the employees' interviews and sought data regarding

the management of volunteers. I used this iterative approach of moving to and from the data to help find meaning in the themes that arose from the data (Charmaz, 2006). To help with this process, I used coding software Atlas.Ti to organize the interviews and field notes for this project. Since I used a subset of the total data set, I created a new project file in Atlas.Ti so that I might see the relationship between the codes that related only from the employees' perspective.

After the initial coding phase, I went back and reread all of the employees' interviews to see if any new themes emerged from the data. I wrote memos (Tracy, 2012) as I went back through the data to connect the data back to theoretical approaches to understanding volunteer management. I also scanned the field notes from the orientations and identified different turning points (Bullis & Bach, 1989) in the orientation process over time. There were some glaring differences that reflected changes in how the organization presented itself to potential volunteers. I wanted to expose some of these changes and identify how they related to the organizational communication from the employees to volunteers.

Next, I started to group the various code groups through a second round of coding. In this process, I used existing theory to group different themes together. For example, after noticing that the employees mentioned *voice* as something that was important in empowering volunteers, I sought additional research to explore a potential theoretical link between voice and empowerment. The link between voice and empowerment in non-profit organizations had discussed in past research (e.g., Ashcraft & Kedrowicz, 2002; Garner & Garner, 2011). As I coded through the data, I paid close

attention to any time that an employee mentioned the voice or dissent of a volunteer. I also looked how employees managed the conflict that surrounded the voicing of volunteers. I used this iterative approach throughout the second round of coding.

Then I started to create larger categories from the different code groups that emerged from the data. Based upon the relationship between voice and empowerment, as in the example above, I created a larger category titled, "Voicing Membership." I compared this axial category to other categories that may be related to how the organization communicates how volunteers can voice in an appropriate and constructive manner. The axial coding stage (Charmaz, 2006) helped to make theoretical connections between some of the categories that emerged from the data. The comparisons among these categories provided an over-arching view of how the organization perceived, communicated, and interacted with volunteers at SPD.

MANAGEMENT OF MULTIPLE VOLUNTEER IDENTIFICATIONS

The data revealed that employees at SPD understand that having identified members at the organization is valuable. Employees at SPD used different opportunities to try and construct organizational identification among the volunteers at SPD. Primarily, the messages that sought to create this bond with the organization came through the volunteer orientations and through interview data with leaders in the organization. The two ways in which the organization tried to construct organizational identification (RQ1) with volunteers through orientation messages was through (a) expressing a need for volunteers, and (b) positioning SPD as an innovative organization.

Inducing Organizational Identification

One way in which SPD created bonds between the organization and volunteers was by making the volunteers feel needed. Past research shows that making volunteers feel needed could be a motivational technique (Clary et al., 1994), but here we see it used as an attempt to create organizational identification among the volunteers. SPD has needed volunteers and communicated these need since its inception. As the organization has grown, it has continued to use volunteers in leadership positions. The organization has also hired more and more employees as it has grown over time. However, one consistent message that resonated throughout each volunteer orientation and interaction with employees was the need for volunteers. When Sadie, the current executive director, started as the executive director, she started as a *volunteer* executive director. When Sadie started to reinvent SPD as an organization with a clear goal of making Metropolis a no-kill city, she started to use volunteers to build her team:

> We started with a committee of – identified all the areas that I thought we needed to have resolved and then tried to find key people to volunteer to be the lead, and then we started pulling in volunteers to feed up to those leads to flesh out the teams.

The need for volunteers is knit into the foundation of SPD. The expectation to use volunteers as much as possible and to advance them into leadership positions shows that SPD wants to use volunteers and will continue to need to communicate a need for volunteers.

The organization communicated the need for volunteers by talking about a macro, general need for volunteers and then also talking about a need in terms of very general specific programs. At every orientation, the presenters showed a video from Sadie that told the story of SPD and highlighted the impact of SPD in the community. She spends part of the video talking directly about the need for volunteers:

> We have some [paid] staff, but heavily rely on volunteers. We need volunteers. You can do everything from walking a dog once a week or pet a cat… We rely on volunteers to fill in that gap and get the animals from out of kill shelters and in to homes. (Field Notes, 8/5/15)

The comments in the video were echoed throughout the orientation presentation. One presenter sounded like she was begging for the volunteers to return to SPD. I noted, "Gertrude begins the talk with a plea of desperation for the volunteers. She said, 'Our job today is to convince you to come back. We desperately need you. You will find it satisfying to be a volunteer here'" (Field Notes, 6/28/15). The appeal for volunteers expresses a clear message to the potential volunteers that they are needed by the organization and needed in a dramatic, explicit manner. The general expression of this desire for more volunteers shows how the organization seeks to create a bond with the volunteers.

The organization and its paid staff also expressed a need for volunteers at a very micro or specific level. Instead of articulating a general plea for volunteers, the organization used specific roles, programs, or tasks with the need for volunteers. For example, one orientation presenter made a joke about how SPD needs photographers to

take images of the animals so that they can be marketed on the website for adoption. He said, "Animals don't take selfies" (Field Notes, 10/13/14). The term selfie refers to taking a photo of one's self. Obviously, the animals are unable to do this and thus, need a photographer. Another presenter at orientation said, "We need volunteers who can send out emails and make it sound enjoyable to take those little puppies" (Field Notes, 10/29/15). The presenters aligned the need for volunteers with specific skills the volunteers may possess.

The orientation presenters talked about the need for volunteers, but the employees expressed that same need. In other words, the communication of a need for volunteers was not presented as some form of false need at the organization. The need for volunteers was an actual, realized need. Lucy, when asked what she would change about her job or the organization, she said, "More volunteers would be fantastic…But the more matchmaker volunteers we have, the more people we're catching, the more big dogs are going." Similarly, Grace, who manages the Bottle Baby Nursery for kittens, explained why having more volunteers is helpful for her work:

> Because there's always something to do and it's always easier with more people and that's why we depend on volunteers so much because the more volunteers we have visiting each day and helping us each day it is ten times easier for the [paid] staff to get by each day.

The comments from the employees regarding the need for volunteers reflect an actual need and an attempt to bond with the volunteers at SPD. The need to be needed was established in these messages and helped form a bond with the organization.

The organization used the orientations as an opportunity to communicate their need for volunteers. The messaging is used to try and draw the volunteers into the organization and to return and volunteer. Through these messages, SPD attempted to create a volunteer-organizational bond early in the volunteer process. The rationale was that if the volunteers felt needed, they would return to fill that need. Another way in which the organization attempted to bond with the volunteers was by talking about the innovative nature of the organization.

SPD presented itself to volunteers as an organization that is comprised of innovative programs that help save animals in the Metropolis area. The orientation provided an opportunity to emphasize the novel programs that SPD does that other animal shelters do not do. Sadie described how the organization was founded on these inventive practices:

> And so the key reason we're different is we don't care what people think might work, we only want to see the data that works. And for our own programs, like our dog programs, something that's really frustrating is that we spend almost all of our time focused on behavior, enrichment, walking and very little time on adoption. And really we don't want them here. That would be the best scenario. We wouldn't have to do any of this other stuff if they all left.

Sadie mentions that SPD is "different" and then ties that into some of the programs that are present at SPD. She criticizes some of the time spent on programs that are not directly linked to adoption. The danger here is that some highly involved volunteers may identify the most with walking dogs. The inherent conflict between the organization and the

volunteer is seen even in these quotes from the leadership. However, a program such as the Matchmaker program shows how SPD is being innovative in how they move animals out of shelters and into homes. Lois described one of her favorite aspects of working at SPD was that it was a "progressive" organization that is "doing things that are outside the box, doing things that nobody else is doing." The staff and organization emphasized these innovative programs in the orientations and in normal conversation.

The organization used the orientations to communicate the uniqueness and innovativeness of SPD. By including the innovative nature of SPD in the orientations, the organization tried to distinguish themselves from other shelters and animal rescue organizations. The speakers at orientation described programs at SPD as, "unique in the whole spectrum of animal care," "atypical to most animal shelters" (Field Notes, 2/14/15) and that "a real unique aspect is our behavior team" (Field Notes, 7/12/15). The orientation used these comments regularly throughout the presentation to impress the potential volunteers so that they could understand the inventiveness of SPD as an animal shelter.

Additionally, the messages at volunteer orientation also included messages of differentiation. The speakers would distinguish SPD from other animal shelters by emphasizing the programs that SPD performs that are not standard at other animal shelters. For example, one of the speakers talked about a specific program that helped diseased puppies. The speaker described the program as "another phenomenal thing about SPD" and that "most shelters would simply kill this puppy" (Field Notes, 2/14/15). In another orientation, the speaker said:

> One of the things that Dr. Sadie said is that 1,200 kittens were dying in Metropolis each year. A lot of people think there is nothing cuter, but these are the most vulnerable. As you saw in Dr. Sadie's introduction [video], we made this a priority. In a conventional shelter, that doesn't happen, but at SPD, it does [saving kittens]." (Field Notes, 7/12/15)

The organization used the conventional/unconventional label to differentiate SPD from other organizations. The speaker of a different orientation described SPD as "unconventional" and "a different type of shelter" (Field Notes, 10/13/14). The communication about SPD as something unique, innovative, and unconventional encouraged potential volunteers to identify with the organization as a whole. The focus on the organization and programs is distinguished from messages encouraging social identification or identification with the animals. This is important because there is evidence that the organization actively sought to develop organizational identification early in the socialization process of the volunteers.

Managing and Negotiating Multiple Volunteer Identifications

In addition to developing organizational identification among the volunteers, this chapter also sought to better understand how the organization manages multiple identifications of volunteers (RQ2). The attachment to the animals may have been useful for the volunteers to overcome dirty work (see Chapter 5) or any potential emotional labor that arose (Rivera & Tracy, 2015). However, these same attachments made it difficult for the employees to manage. Often, volunteers identified so strongly with one target—such as the animals—that they stood in direct conflict with the organization. The

following examples show how the employees tolerated some of the strong attachments among volunteers.

Lucy manages the matchmaking team and acknowledged that some of the volunteers had a difficult time accomplishing their work due to a particular attachment. If a volunteer has an attachment to a certain animal, they may let biases play into the matchmaking process. Lucy said this could be problematic. She said:

> I think volunteers just kind of have like this mind of 'just the dog' and not kind of everything else in the picture. I don't know. I guess there's just a different mentality for that too. I want every dog to go home but everyone is always pressuring us to get that dog, get that dog, get that dog out but I guess that's different.

This quote shows the complexity of the volunteers. Some volunteers may want to have a dog stay at SPD so they can interact with it, but other volunteers may be trying to push a single dog to be adopted even if it not the right dog for the adopter. Dorothy, the dog adoption counselor, echoed Lucy's thoughts concerning volunteers closeness to singular animals being problematic at times for the employees:

> Even though they have good intentions they often are only looking out for one dog when the [paid] staff, we have to look out for hundreds of dogs. It is kind of hard to talk to them sometimes when they are in a certain mindset and don't want to work through it. They only have it their way or it's no way.

Lucy, here, emphasizes the difficulty of communicating with volunteers who are only "looking out for one dog." The communication challenges extended into how the

organization talked about attachment to animals in the volunteer orientations. During one orientation, the speaker emphasized that the Bottle Baby program is "Not an opportunity to play with the kittens. This is a very difficult job and not all of our kittens make it. This is some real talk" (Field Notes, 7/25/15). The speaker makes it clear that volunteers should not volunteer so that they can pet and play with kittens.

Managing conflict with volunteers. The employees faced a related challenged in regards to being able to balance their commitment and attachment with the dogs to working with others at SPD. Sometimes, the attachment to the animals led to outright conflict. During data collection for this project, a small group of volunteers were trying to prevent a dog from being "put down." The dog had bitten foster people, other dogs, and was expressing unpredictable aggression. In these situations, Levi and the behavior team had to decide what to do with a dog that was not safe. Euthanasia was clearly contradictory to the no-kill mission at SPD, but the organization consistently communicated that it had a responsibility to "care about public safety" (Levi) and euthanize dangerous dogs. In communicating with the volunteers during conflict regarding euthanasia, the employees relied on policy and procedure as their rationale. Lois described that most of the conflict with volunteers arises due to "some type of policy that they don't like that Bernice [operations officer] or Levi made."

The timing and intensity of one euthanasia incident at SPD in the summer of 2015 altered some of the organizational messages sent to volunteers during orientations. The messages concerning euthanasia and why the organization had to put down certain dogs changed over the course of 2015. At some of the first orientations I attended, the speakers

emphasized that the work was not easy and that not every animal lived. For instance, I noted that one slide on the presentation stated, "volunteering here can be challenging" (Field Notes 6/28/15). In that presentation, led by volunteers, neither presenter mentioned anything about dogs being euthanized. The speakers mentioned the difficulty of the work and that "there are days when your heart is torn out" (Field Notes, 6/28/15), but there are no instances where the speakers talk directly about any euthanasia issues at SPD.

Lois, the volunteer coordinator, began to institute changes in the orientation process. She worked with the volunteer committee, but she started to give the presentations that included slightly different content concerning dog behavior. At an orientation on July 8, 2015, Lois said, "Even though we're amazing, we can't always take care of them. We don't have a magic wand. When the dogs are truly aggressive, we do make the choice for euthanasia" (Field Notes, 7/08/15). As more time progressed the message became more and more specific. One month later, on August 5, 2015, Lois led an orientation and said, "There are some cases with aggressive dogs that we have to put them down. We don't want to put the community at risk." (Field Notes, 8/05/15). Lastly, on October 28, 2015, Lois added a significant amount of content surrounding the no-kill mission and euthanasia at SPD:

> What does no-kill mean? There are some organizations that define it differently, but some mean that no-kill means never killing an animal. For Metropolis, this means that 90% of the animals must be saved to be considered no-kill. Right now, we have a 97% live outcome which is great for a city our size. The first couple

> reasons that we save is if an animal has a treatable disease. However, aggression may require euthanasia. (Field Notes, 10/29/15)

Lois then even gets more specific and outlines the three different types of aggression that a dog may show to require euthanasia. She listed out the three types of aggression, "offensive, unstoppable, and unidentified," and then gave examples of each type of aggression. For example, she described unstoppable aggression when she said, "we expect an animals to have a prey drive, but when you can't stop a dog—we don't want a dog like that in the community" (Field Notes, 10/29/15). The change in communication from the organization concerning euthanasia shows a turning point (Bullis & Bach, 1989) in how the organization manages volunteers. Instead of dealing with specific instances of aggression, the organization seeks to preempt any difficulties that arise from a lack of clarity in the no-kill mission. This directly addresses volunteers who may identify strongly with a specific animal or the no-kill mission at SPD. On the one hand, the communication concerning aggressive dogs could be seen as an attempt of the organization to provide a "realistic job preview" (Jablin, 2001; McNamee & Peterson, 2014), but on the other hand, the organization openly articulates a glaring contradiction in messaging—no-kill may not always mean "no-kill."

Seeking agreement among volunteers and management. The change in messaging shows that the organization uses policy to deal with attachment and identification issues at SPD. In other words, the organization attempts to re-clarify rules, mission, and purposes so that volunteers will *not* express disagreement. The employees explicitly mentioned that being in agreement in decision making was something that was

important to attain between the volunteers and paid staff. Lois said, "Recently we've had a lot of conflicts with – the volunteers haven't agreed with the policies and procedures that are in place for Saving Pets Daily." Lucy framed agreement as an important component to working successfully at SPD. She said, "I think it takes a like-minded person to work at SPD…I don't think there is anybody that is super outcast and if they are, they usually don't last very long." Sadie, the executive director, also emphasized the importance of being in agreement with some of the positive aspects of the work:

> I don't know how to get there but I would love to see just everybody on the same page about the importance of what they're doing and how much that means and have gratefulness about that for inwardly and outwardly about how it's going.

The desire for employees and volunteers being in agreement on issues is challenging given the breadth of different personality types that lead to "personality conflicts" (Sadie). Sadie, here, refers to "everybody on the same page" in a way that denotes that everybody is *not* on the same page at the organization. The misalignment, according to the organization, can be corrected through more agreement among the employees and volunteers.

Empowerment through voicing. In addition to using policy to address multiple identifications at SPD, the organization also emphasized giving the volunteers freedom to work in any capacity they saw fit at the organization. Past research has focused on the idea of "empowering" volunteers (Ashcraft & Kedrowicz, 2002; Gossett, 2002) and SPD attempted to do this with their volunteers. For SPD volunteers, the employees expressed empowerment in terms of how the volunteers could put their time and efforts into their

specific team or personal interest in the organization. The employees wanted volunteers to be able to find something important to them and then to organize around that particular area of the organization.

The employees empowered volunteers by providing them space to work where they wanted to work. Sadie mentioned that most of the volunteers who became leaders of different teams started leading because of a complaint:

> Well, my husband makes fun of me because one of the things when people come with a complaint, that's usually how it starts. [A volunteer] comes with a complaint that such and such is not getting done. We need to do more. And I'm usually like, "Go for it. Feel free. It'd be awesome. We need – you're right. I'll support you 100 percent. Let's go." And then they'll do it and they'll knock it out.

Sadie positions the empowerment of volunteers through the idea of giving the volunteers a voice in the organizational decisions and programs. By giving the volunteers space to voice their thoughts, she then gives them ownership over a particular program. Lois echoed that same sentiment when talking about giving the volunteers space to voice. She said:

> So sometimes it's about getting them that voice. The great thing about Saving Pets Daily that's so much better than any shelter I've ever literally worked at, is that if you see something and you're like, "This would be better if this was implemented," you can take charge of that and implement that to happen.

The giving of voice to volunteers was a way in which SPD could manage the varying identifications of the volunteers. If a volunteer identified primarily with the social component at SPD, then this volunteer would have the space to create programs that involved more social interaction. Providing the space for volunteers to voice their thoughts, opinions, and ideas opens up the organization to conflict and controversy with volunteers. If volunteers adamantly disagree with a policy or procedure and they feel like they have a voice, then they will voice their disagreement. The organization had to deal with this tension in the organization as well.

By giving the volunteers voice, the employees enable the volunteers to work as empowered members of the organization. However, when the organization gives the volunteers voice, there is the possibility that the organization will disagree with the volunteers or that the volunteers will take too much ownership over certain areas and voice in ways that are anti-organizational. These disidentified voices create challenges for employees. Lois, who deals directly with volunteer issues as the volunteer coordinator, emphasized that voice came with a responsibility at SPD:

> So if you want a voice but you don't want that leadership, well then you need to wait until someone will take that leadership position and join their team. Which that's probably usually the most conflict is when people want a voice and they want to tell you what to do, but they don't want to be part of that solution. Which, like I said, SPD is great that they let volunteers be part of the solution, which is really cool.

The way in which Lois explains the voicing process reveals some of the tension in dealing with volunteers voicing without earning a voice. She mentions that SPD allows "volunteers [to] be part of the solution," but that it comes with a catch. In conjunction with providing a voice, the employees also expressed that *how* the volunteers voice matters as well. Levi manages a large number of volunteers through the dog behavior program and struggles when volunteers voice in an inappropriate manner:

> So, that's what makes them great is the fact that they don't need a paycheck. They're here on their own time. That's what makes them so valuable, but it can sometimes I think for the wrong person, make them a little more like whatever, I'm donating my time so I'm going to maybe not have the right tact or the right decorum or kind of go about things that are in a less ideal way.

Levi continued by talking about how the emotional component of the work can add to the intensity of the voicing process. He emphasized the importance of "being here to talk it out" with disgruntled volunteers and added, "I think it's really important when you're at this large non-profit type of organization, especially one that deals with so much passion and kind of heart-on-your-shirt-sleeve type of world that we're in because of the animals involved."

Levi expects volunteers to conduct themselves in the right way when they are working. He identifies their most valuable quality in the work that they do. During some of the conflict at SPD, voicing can be a difficult aspect of the organization.

The organization, in this case, provides volunteers the empowerment and freedom to focus on any aspect they want to at SPD. However, the freedom to do this comes with

the responsibility for leadership and voicing in an appropriate manner. The findings from this chapter concerning how the organization manages multiple identifications of volunteers provides insight into understanding how non-profit organizations manage fragmented and multiple volunteer identifications.

IMPLICATIONS OF VOLUNTEER IDENTIFICATIONS ON NON-PROFIT MANAGEMENT

The volunteer-organization bond is not something that can *only* be looked at through the eyes and experiences of the volunteers. This paper sought to examine how employees and managers at a non-profit organization created bonds with volunteers who identify with various components of the volunteer activity. The findings show that SPD constructs an organization-volunteer bond through emphasizing the need for volunteers and by differentiating SPD from other animal shelters. The findings also illuminate the challenges in managing fickle volunteers that express varying identifications. To manage these volunteers, the organization sought to give voice to the volunteers. But, when the organization gave voice to the volunteers, the findings articulate that the employees expect even more responsibility, leadership, and alignment out of the volunteers. The employees at non-profit organizations, such as SPD, must learn to manage the complexities surrounding volunteers with varying identifications. The findings contribute to the present literature on volunteer-organizational identification by showing how: (a) the organization tries to limit volunteer identification to organizational identification, and (b) the organization gives a faux voice to the volunteers.

Inducing a Broad Organizational Identification

Volunteer and non-profit organizations are in precarious positions in regards to managing volunteers. The need for volunteers is evident, but the organization also uses this plea to help potential volunteers feel needed. In this sense, the organization is not only saying something that is true, but it is also using this as a persuasive tool to make the potential volunteers feel like their work is needed by some larger collective. By creating such a "need," the organization creates space for attachments to form with different targets at the organization.

The organization used the "need" message to not only talk about the need at SPD as a whole, but also through specific programs. If a volunteer identified with a particular animal group or even the larger mission of the organization, the message of "needing volunteers" provided an over-arching message that allowed volunteers to identify with multiple organizational targets. The messaging here relates directly with the functional motivation approach to volunteering (Clary & Snyder, 1991). These psychologists argue that volunteers will volunteer when a certain motivation is being met. Therefore, if meeting other people while volunteering motivates a volunteer, they will continue to volunteer at particular organization where he or she can meet other people (Clary et al., 1998). In the same way, organizations may communicate in a way that fosters multiple identifications. By stating that volunteers are needed in macro (mission, organization) and micro (program, animals) aspects of the organization, the volunteers may see that there is an opportunity to bond with what they *intend* to identify with at the organization. If a volunteer is looking to be a part of the no-kill mission, bond with dogs, or save baby

kittens, the message they receive upon entering is, “We need you, and you can do that here.”

The “need for volunteers” messaging at SPD provides a *catch-all* for the multiple identifications of volunteers. By stating that there is some broader need, the volunteers are then able to attach themselves to the many different needs at SPD. Once again, we see an important connection between the messaging of an organization and the resulting identification processes (Scott et al., 1998). In the attempt of the organization to create a bond with the volunteers through some component of the organization, there are also active warnings against bonding with the wrong components of the organization. Some of the communication at SPD resembled McNamee and Peterson’s (2014) call for realistic job previews by minimizing the amount of contact and time the volunteers would be able to have with the animals. In this sense the organization “tip-toes” around the identification of the volunteers. The message from the organization seems to be “we need you to love animals,” but what is *not* said is, “Just don’t love them too much.”

The inconsistent messaging represents some of the challenges faced by organizations such as SPD. The identification with the animals likely brings many volunteers to the organization, but if that identification becomes too strong, then there may be conflict with the employees and the organization. So, while the organization leaves room for volunteers to identify with the animals, mission, or one another, the preferred identification target from the organization’s perspective is the organization.

The desirability of having organizationally identified members is intuitive to the organization. Past research unequivocally shows that organizations with members that

identify with the organization have higher level of performance than those that have weak identifications (Carmeli, Gilat, & Waldman, 2007; Dukerich, Golden, & Shortell, 2002; Riketta, 2005). However, since we know that volunteers may not be identifying with the organization, but they are fully committed and motivated members of the organization, perhaps some organizations should question the desirability of having identified members. Gossett (2002) finds some evidence of this by studying temporary workers, but the present study advances this idea by showing how the *organization* may want to keep volunteers "at arm's length" (Gossett, 2002). Instead of seeking stronger organizational identification from volunteers, perhaps some organizations, such as SPD, should consider creating avenues for volunteers to identify with their preferred identification target.

Faux Voicing to the Volunteers

The second implication from the findings shows how the paid employees give a false sense of voice to the volunteers at SPD. The messaging from the organization points toward an open and inviting environment for conversations, disagreements, and dissent. The findings show how SPD privileges the volunteers' autonomy by encouraging them to see problems and then solve problems with the organization. The volunteers mostly accomplish this through voicing the problem and then showing initiative to solve the problem. The messaging from the organization attempts to give this voice to the volunteers.

To manage the difficult tension of giving autonomy to the volunteers while releasing control, the organization allowed the volunteers to voice *up to a certain point*. The employees expressed that voice must be earned through leadership and commitment.

While this may give voice to some volunteers, the organization is actually silencing others. The dangers of this type of control are well documented (e.g., Perlow & Repenning, 2009) and seen explicitly here, in this data. In Garner and Garner's (2011) research on voicing opinions in a non-profit organization, they reference the desirability of voice from different volunteers. The general argument is that considerate voicing should be accepted and encouraged in organizations (Avtgis, Thomas-Maddox, Taylor, & Patterson, 2007). However, non-profit organizations may use volunteers in different ways and thus, *not* invite voicing from certain volunteers (Garner & Garner, 2011). The implication is that certain volunteer organizations will not invite voicing because the voicing of non-specialized workers is not helpful to the growth of the organization. In other words, these organizations do not need nor want the voice of volunteers. The present study challenges this assumption by showing that voicing tolerance may also be based on volunteer credibility. Volunteers at SPD were respected and given voice if they had been volunteers for a long time or if they took on additional roles. The organization communicates the limits on the volunteers and provides a boundary for the voicing behaviors of the volunteers.

The findings show that the organization does, in fact, attempt to empower (Ashcraft & Kedrowicz, 2002; Gossett, 2002) volunteers, but it does so with strings attached. By relying on policy and expecting agreement out of volunteers in every scenario, the organization shows its inability to accurately communicate through disagreement and conflict. The result is an inability to understand or comprehend multiple identifications. The organization only wants voices that align with the

organization itself. The result is not a true empowerment, but a bounded empowerment that is limited to decisions and leadership in line with the organization.

The implications for a bounded empowerment show the tension that exists between the agency of the volunteers and organizational alignment desired by the organization. Agency refers to the findings that show the organization privileges, encourages, and praises volunteers that initiate new programs and solve problems in the organization. Conversations with employees appropriately reflect this component. The alignment end of the spectrum refers to the organization's desire for agreement with organizational policies. Both the executive director and volunteer manager at SPD were quick to note that SPD might not be the place for every volunteer. While this is true, the act of silencing certain volunteers may, indeed, have negative outcomes for the volunteers and the organization (Garner & Garner, 2011; Perlow & Repenning, 2009).

Non-profit organizations, and any organization facing multiple identifications, encounter additional challenges managing individuals with multiple identifications. Ideally, the efforts of the volunteers should aid in the advancement of the organization, but there may be additional communicative challenges that are comprised of more liminal members that do not strongly attach themselves to the organization. In sum, organizations may be underestimating the influence of identification with something else than the organization and are missing an opportunity to portray how they can foster the identification of these organizational members.

CHAPTER 7: THE DESIRABILITY AND MULTIPLEXITY OF IDENTIFICATION AND DISIDENTIFICATION

Organizational identification, as a focal point for research, draws upon a unique human experience, which is both enacted and constructed through communication. Considering the communicative core of identification, research on this subject deepens scholars' understanding on how personal expressions and enactments of identification shape—and are shaped by—the organizations in which we work, live, and volunteer (Scott et al., 1998). By definition, identification research addresses an individualized experience, yet similarities among the experiences of individuals within the same organization allow for research to analyze broad patterns of organizational identification. As the nature of work continues to shift and take on new forms, identification research will continue to be a relevant and important focus in organizational communication.

SUMMARY OF DISSERTATION FINDINGS

The present study sought to better understand the role of communication in the identification processes of volunteers at an animal shelter. The findings from this study show how volunteers communicatively construct identifications and disidentifications with multiple organizational targets in a non-profit organization and use identifications and disidentifications to both *endure* the filthiness of dirty work and *subvert* attempts of the organization to create uniformity among volunteers.

Chapter 3: Multiple Identifications of Volunteers

The findings of Chapter 3 largely replicated previous research in demonstrating that workers construct identifications in and through communication. Workers at SPD

communicated identity through two primary means: (a) reflecting up on their work at the animal shelter, and (b) through their interaction and engagement of the work at SPD. This work also found that volunteers aligned themselves with multiple identification targets (i.e., mission, animals). The data show that volunteers identified with the subject of the work—the dogs and cats at SPD. The identification with the animals shows how volunteers create bonds with their work and align their identities with the subject of the work.

The findings in Chapter 3 extend theory concerning the multiple identifications of volunteer members by providing empirical evidence for the communicative construction and maintenance of multiple identifications. Volunteers actively select the organizations in which they work, but Chapter 3 shows that there may be other competing targets of identification for volunteer members. The consideration of multiple identifications provides a more complete representation of identities—shifting, competing, changing, and multiplex.

The volunteers also identified with the mission of the organization. The data show that the mission was a distinct identification target from the organization itself. While the mission of the organization is usually considered part of the organization (Fairhurst et al., 1997), the present study shows how the mission of a non-profit organization points to a larger, broader mission that is separate from the organization. Few, if any, for-profit organizations are able to claim a large, broader mission in the same way volunteers identify with the mission of a non-profit organization. The volunteers that identified with

the mission of the organization distinguished the mission from the organization by comparing SPD to another, idealized animal shelter.

Chapter 4: Communicative Construction of Disidentification

In Chapter 4, I analyzed the communicative construction of disidentification among volunteers in a non-profit organization. The data show that volunteers, even though they actively selected the organization in which they volunteer, separated their identities from that of the organization. From an external perspective, there are not many reasons as to why the volunteers would disidentify with the organization in which they work. However, volunteers may have beneficial reasons to construct their identities in opposition of the organization. The benefits of disidentification are discussed later in this chapter.

The disidentification process was not the absence of identification, but instead, a distinct communicative process. Volunteers used messages that communicated their distance from the organization, disagreement with the organization, and dissent as a representation of disidentification. Communication, thus, simultaneously created and represented disidentifications among volunteer workers. The volunteers used comparison, complaints, dissent, and other distinguishing communication to disidentify from four targets of disidentification: organization, mission, social component, and the animals.

At the end of Chapter 4, I synthesized the findings from Chapter 3 with Chapter 4. By bringing the findings together, I showed how volunteers simultaneously manage identification and disidentification within the same organization. The simultaneous management of identification and disidentification brings into question the assumption

that identification is only a positive attribute and disidentification is only negative for the individual and organization (e.g., Li et al., 2015). Instead, we see identification with one organizational target and disidentification with another target work in tandem for volunteers.

Chapter 5: Influence of (Dis)Identification on Dirty Work

Chapter 5 extends the findings in chapter four by investigating the enactment of identifications and disidentifications of volunteers. In other words, I wanted to see how identifications and disidentifications influenced the work practices of volunteers. The connection between identification and work has been studied in previous research (e.g., Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993), but few studies have sought to understand how volunteers utilize identifications and disidentifications to create desired organizational outcomes.

The analysis in Chapter 5 specifically looks at the types of dirty work the volunteers at SPD encountered and examines the role of identification and disidentification in the construction, negotiation, and enactment of these identifications and disidentifications. The findings provide a categorization of the different types of dirty work the volunteers endured at the animal shelter. I show how the volunteers utilized identification and disidentification in conjunction with their dirty work by providing examples of how the volunteers used multiple identifications to overcome some of the lesser dirty work and disidentification to endure the dirtiest work at SPD. The findings reveal a connection between identity and work practices of volunteer members.

The most surprising finding in Chapter 5 showed that disidentified volunteers were often the most committed workers at the animal shelter. In addition to being the

most committed workers, those who strongly disidentified with the organization were often the volunteers who participated in the dirtiest work. These disidentified workers did not lack identification; rather they aligned themselves with the animals at the shelter—the subject of their volunteer work. Given that previous research provides evidence of a well-supported relationship between organizational identification and commitment (Riketta, 2005), the finding that disidentification may have specific organizational and individual benefits warrants further attention from organizational scholars. Perhaps, disidentification is a value only to non-profit organizations, which would explain why the studies investigating for-profit organizations stress the importance of identification. In either case, future research must look to see if this finding is consistent among other non-profit organizations.

Chapters 3-5 explain the impact of identification and disidentification processes of volunteers. To this point in the dissertation, the perspective has been on how the *volunteers* manage their identifications and disidentifications. Chapter 6 departs from the volunteers' perspective by examining how non-profit organizations induce identification among volunteer members and how non-profit organizations manage volunteers with multiple identifications. Addressing the issue of multiple identifications from management's perspective is valuable in that it provides insight into the messages organizations might send to elicit preferred identifications targets of the organization.

Chapter 6: Managing Multiple (Dis)Identifications

The findings in Chapter 6 show how a non-profit organization creates messages that encourage a broad identification with the organization. In other words, the

organization communicates in a way that benefits only the organization. Secondly, the findings in Chapter 6 bring into question the desirability of disidentification from the organization's perspective. If volunteers disidentify from the organization, but remain highly committee and high performing volunteers, organizations may consider that organizational disidentification may not be inherently negative.

Additionally, Chapter 6 provides data that shows how organizations may want to put in place efforts that would remove the 'organization target' of identification out of the way of the volunteers. If the most committed volunteers are strongly identifying with the animals and disidentifying with the organization, managers should consider ways to encourage volunteers to focus on the subject of the work to enhance overall organizational effectiveness.

In summary, the present study found that volunteers construct identification and disidentification in and through communication. These (dis)identifications are multiplex in that volunteers construct identifications with more than one target of identification in a non-profit organization. The identification and disidentification processes are important to the volunteers in that these members of the organization internalize different aspects of the organization and align their values with that of the mission, organization, social aspect, or the animals.

The multiple (dis)identifications are shown not to be inherently positive or negative on their own, but instead, volunteers use multiple (dis)identifications to endure difficult and challenging dirty volunteer work. The volunteers use communication in their reflection on their experiences, but they also enact these identifications by drawing

towards one organizational target whilst pushing away from another. The (dis)identifications of volunteers have real consequences as well. The ability of volunteers to construct and manage multiple (dis)identifications may provide volunteers with the identity tools needed to overcome challenges in volunteer work.

Lastly, non-profit organizations play an important role in shaping the (dis)identification processes through specific communicative acts. From the organization's perspective, managing volunteers' (dis)identification may require organizational restructuring and intentional communication that encourages not only organizational identification, but also identification with other targets of identification, specifically the subject of the work. Also, organizations should find ways to create space for volunteers to construct and enact disidentifications.

The purpose of this final chapter is to unpack the contributions from this study—both theoretical and practical. Subsequently, I offer directions for future research on volunteer identification using a communicative lens. Lastly, I conclude with practical implications for volunteer members and managers at non-profit organizations.

(DIS)IDENTIFICATION AND ITS INFLUENCE ON VOLUNTEER WORK

A central contribution of the present study resides in its ability to provide empirical evidence for the complicated phenomenon of (dis)identification. This dissertation demonstrates an approach for future researchers to use in an effort to examine disidentification as a communicative process. On a broad level, research on disidentification ought to look at the ways individuals communicate distance, disagreement, and dissent toward an organization. On a granular level, it is important that

research on disidentification and identification continues to: (a) inspect the role of multiple identifications *and* disidentifications in organizations (b), examine the enactment of identity in and through volunteer work, and (c) question the desirability of identified organizational members. Each of these contributions is unpacked in the following sections.

Managing Multiple (Dis)Identifications

The volunteers at SPD exposed the complexity of identification by aligning with multiple aspects of the social scene at any given time (Cheney, 1983b). The multiplex identifications show how identities are constructed through numerous aspects of organizing, not just the organization (Kuhn & Nelson, 2002). Adding to the complexity of multiple identifications, the data in the present study showed how there were times when the communicated identification target did not align with the role of the volunteer. For example, one volunteer joined the organization to walk dogs. She worked with the dogs, accelerated through the training program, and then was "promoted" to lead a team of dog walkers. Her responsibilities shifted and now she spends more time organizing people, sending email, and resolving conflict. She spends less time with the animals—the very said that her primary motivation was the animals. As a volunteer, she could quit or go back to being just a dog walker. But, instead, she remains in a role that is misaligned with her identification.

The promoted dog walking volunteer is complex in that she is still contributing to the larger mission and the organization, but she experiences a tension between her role and her identity. The findings in this study suggest that this volunteer might consider a

couple of options. First, she might start to disidentify with the animals. She could talk about how messy the animals are and convince herself that they are not part of her identity. Secondly, she could identify strongly with her new role as a leader by talking about how much it means to her and complimenting other leaders at the shelter. Lastly, she could identify more locally—with the people on her team—or more broadly and convince herself that she is still contributing to the broader mission of the organization. The complexity of the possible responses of the volunteer in this scenario show the difficulty individuals have managing multiple (dis)identifications.

Another way in which volunteers showed their disidentification to the organization was by comparing the organization to another animal shelter. The use of comparison communication serves to distinguish one organization from the other. The volunteers at SPD used comparison communication to distinguish their identity from that of the organization. Each time a volunteer intentionally mentioned an "ideal" organization, he or she might have been communicating that, "SPD is NOT ideal" and thus constructing an identity in opposition of the organization. Although this might be an extreme example, complimenting one organization is a way of distancing from another.

The presence of disidentification among volunteers at an animal shelter is surprising for several reasons. First, the definition of "volunteer" refers to the idea that volunteers work on their own accord and can be selective with where they chose to volunteer (Lewis, 2013). Not all volunteering takes this form (i.e., requirements by schools or businesses), but most volunteering is not mandated for individuals. The findings from this study show how the presence of other identification targets besides the

organization (i.e., animals, mission, social), helped to retain volunteers who were disidentified with the organization itself. These "fractured" identities (Scarduzio & Geist-Martin, 2008, p. 370) clearly helped balance and compartmentalize the identity of the volunteers at SPD. If it were not for other identifications, which developed in spite of disidentification with the organization, it is unclear what would motivate individuals to retain their roles with the organization. The ability of identification with something to counteract disidentification with another thing exemplifies how these fragmented identities might balance one another. The data suggests that volunteers that identify with one organizational target may be able to endure a disidentification toward the organization, mission, animals, or other volunteers. Yet, not only did these disidentified workers chose to stay at SPD, despite their ability to do a similar role at other animal shelters, but they also engaged in some of the dirtiest work available at SPD.

The decision to stay at an organization where a member disidentifies from some aspect of the organization is counterintuitive. If an organization acts in direct opposition of a member's values and beliefs, it is likely that the individual will leave the organization. For volunteers, exiting the organization is *always* an option since there are likely no financial or career consequences for leaving volunteer duty. One explanation is that volunteers understand that organizational life is rife with contention and that they are not always going to agree with every organizational decision.

The alternative explanation is that volunteers construct identifications that are stronger than the disidentification. The strong identification with one component of the organization keeps volunteers present and active at the organization despite disagreeing

with organizational decisions or processes. While this is helpful in understanding why volunteers remain at the organization, it does not explain why volunteers who disidentify with the organization would be the most committed members of the organization. It is possible that the two qualities are related. The stronger the disidentification with one component of the organization, the stronger the identification is with another organizational target. Scholars have theorized about a balanced perspective that would argue that individuals have a balanced desire to be the same as they do to be different (Brewer, 1991; Hornsey & Jetten, 2004). The balanced perspective on identification would help to explain why volunteers actively constructed disidentifications and still remained in the organization. The strong identification with one component balanced out the disidentification with another target.

The splintering of identifications and disidentifications shows how complex the construct is to capture, interpret, and explain. By studying disidentification, the present study adds to the research on organizational identification as a multidimensional construct. Equally as important, the present study demonstrates that disidentification as a communicative construct, can be analyzed as something distinct from identification.

Work as Enacted Identification

The present study also draws attention to the specific, day-to-day work of organizational members who are central to the success of an organization (see Barley & Kunda, 2001). Organizational scholars have been criticized for studying organizational members detached from the core work the organization performs. As a result, research fails to provide a "full account of why new forms of organizing have emerged" (Barley &

Kunda, 2001, p. 77). In light of this previous oversight, the present study focuses on the pertinent work of the volunteers and the subject of the work—the animals. By observing the volunteers as they work, this dissertation studies the communication of volunteer identifications and the enacted identifications through the work of volunteers.

The enacted identifications of volunteers are important to consider because they provide an opportunity to evaluate the validity of the volunteers' stated or implied identification. As identifications are constructed in conversations, interactions with others, and reflective communication (Ashcraft & Kedrowicz, 2002; Scott et al., 1997), these identifications are reinforced by the work of the volunteers. For example, if a volunteer talked about identifying with the animals and then participated in work that interacted directly with the animals, the interaction and enacted identification provided a form of *in situ* triangulation to validate the communicated identification (Tracy, 2012). Although this paper does not use a structurational approach to identification (e.g., Scott et al., 1998), the methods and findings show how the communication of identifications shapes the work and the work, in turn, shapes the process of identification.

The present study extends this work by looking empirically at how communication influences (dis)identification processes in a volunteer context. By studying (dis)identification in a volunteer membership context, the present study learned about how certain memberships foster multiple identifications in organizations. Volunteers maintain a distinct membership with organizations (Ashcraft & Kedrowicz, 2002) and the membership influenced how they identified, or not, with the organization.

Also, the present study specifically identifies communicative moves that construct identification and disidentification. For example, expressing disagreement with organizational decisions proved to be an important marker of disidentification. The extension of research on identification and disidentification into the volunteer context showed how volunteers identified with targets such as the mission and the subject of the work.

The findings here also contribute to the work on identification as an *active* process (Kuhn & Nelson, 2002; Lammers et al., 2013; Scott et al., 1998). As the volunteers communicatively aligned themselves with a target of their identification, many of these same volunteers selected and participated in work that shaped or was shaped by these same identifications. For example, some of the volunteers identified strongly with the animals at SPD. Most of these volunteers spent the most time with the dogs and participated in the highest level of trainings; allowing them to walk the most challenging animals. By spending time handling and training the animals, the work enhanced the volunteer's identification with the dogs. The data show that certain volunteers created strong bonds with specific animals they came to see and walk on a consistent basis. The closeness between the animals and the volunteer shows how work can become a central agent in the identification process.

The animals becoming the focal point of the work introduces a target of identification that is not often studied in organizational communication. When scholars consider a member or worker's identification, scholars have primarily studied an individual's attachment to the organization (e.g., DiSanza & Bullis, 1999), team (e.g.,

Lammers et al., 2013), or occupation (e.g., Zabusky & Barley, 1997). The subject of the work as a focal point of identification presents an additional (dis)identification target in organizations that is worth exploring in future research studies.

Chapter 5 further exhibited the importance of work in the identification process by showing how identification enabled volunteers *endure* some of the challenges of working in a difficult, and sometimes dangerous, work environment. Volunteers were able to use identification, and disidentification, to persevere through the challenges and membership issues facing the volunteers. The volunteers faced a variety of different types of challenging work at SPD. Some volunteers worked primarily online and were able to avoid some of the dirty work. Other volunteers were handling fragile animals that were near death. The different types of work required different (dis)identification tactics. As the work became more challenging and difficult, volunteers used disidentification to separate themselves from one component of the organization to strengthen identification with a different aspect of the work. (Dis)identification, in this way, might be useful for volunteers or workers in challenging work. For example, if a volunteer feels distant from or unimportant to the organization, perhaps identifying with a different identification target may be a way to overcome the negative impact of poor volunteer management.

Thus, identification has a specific *function* for organizational members. The volunteers who are able to craft identities with a desired target of identification may be better positioned to persevere in challenging organizational contexts. The implication of a functional approach to identification is supported by past research that addresses identification in organizational change (Chreim, 2002; Larson & Pepper, 2003). The

research on functional identification shows that individuals manage threats to existing identifications through the use of communication strategies and tactics (Larson & Pepper, 2003). Similarly, this research positions communication as the strategic method through which individuals manage multiple identifications.

Specifically, the present study adds to the research on functional identification by showing the ways in which organizational members might use *disidentification* to manage challenging aspects of work. The interesting finding here is that volunteers did not disidentify with the source of the dirtiness. While the animals were often the cause of the physical or emotional "dirt" at SPD, the volunteers coped by finding something to disidentify with in order to be able to cope and endure the work at the shelter.

Additionally, past research has focused on functional identification in a for-profit context. For example, identification is often studied in the context of organizational change (Larson & Pepper, 2003) and a knowledge management firm (Lammers et al., 2013), but the present study extends scholars' understanding of identification by examining how individuals construct identities in non-profit organizations. When studying identification and disidentification, the context is vitally important because the identification targets with which the individual can bond with are contextually bound. In other words, for-profit organizations may provide fewer identification targets for individuals. Future research should continue to examine (dis)identification processes in a variety of organizational settings to uncover different nuances in the targets and functions of (dis)identification.

Questioning the Desirability of (Dis)Identification

The final contribution to theory on identification challenges the assumed benefit of identification, specifically organizational identification, to an organization. While research consistently mentions and refers to disidentification as a theoretical construct (Scott, 1997; Scott & Stephens, 2009), few studies have focused on the impact or consequences of disidentification on organizational members and the organization (see exceptions, Fleming, 2005; Gossett, 2002; Pratt, 2000). The present study found empirical evidence of beneficial outcomes of organizational disidentification among organizational members in a volunteer organization. At first, encouraging the disidentification of members appears to be counterintuitive. However, the data show how volunteers that disidentified with the organization were more committed and involved in the work of the organization. The organizationally disidentified volunteers endured dirtier work that was essential to the success of the organization. As such, the disidentification processes allowed volunteers to identify with the animals and remain a part of the organization rather than abandoning their role altogether. The result showed how volunteers managed simultaneous identification and disidentification, which benefitted the organization.

For the volunteer, disidentification may be an important, functional move that assists volunteers in personalizing their work (Berkelaar, 2013) or enduring difficult work (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999). The findings in the present study counter the vast research that posit organizational identification as *solely* a desirable trait that benefits the organizational member in meaningful ways (Riketta, 2004; van Knippenberg, 2000; van

Knippenberg & van Schie, 2000). In a volunteering context, organizational identification may be able to be utilized by volunteers for intentional purposes. The functional approach to identification is similar to Gossett's (2002) research that shows that temporary workers strategically remained on the periphery of organizational decision-making and social interactions because they knew that their time in the organization was temporary. From Gossett's work, we see that membership status influence the bond between individuals and organizations. Extending this finding to the present study helps explain why volunteers—who may also see their role as temporary—do not form as strong of bonds with the organization.

Instead volunteers in the present study showed an intention to remain distant from the organization through their communication, disagreement, and dissent. In these communicative acts, these volunteers both expressed their identity and engaged in the process of identity formation. Thus, organizational disidentification is a recursive process marked by certain types of messages. One way in which the volunteers created distance between themselves and the organization was through identifying themselves as anti-social. If an individual is anti-social that person is not necessarily incapable of organizational identification. However, by intentionally claiming that, "I'm a dog person, not a people person," some volunteers created space between themselves, other volunteers, and employees at the organization. Also, these same individuals would reflect these messages in their behavior by avoiding social gatherings and conversations at SPD. These types of messages were indicators of disidentification. Yet such messages were not at odds with organizational commitment, participation, and engagement since the

disidentified volunteers were also volunteering the most as well as completing the dirtiest work.

In Chapter 6, the organization's perspective was privileged rather than the volunteers' voice. The findings show that management did not perceive disidentified volunteers as a threat to the organization. Although the volunteer manager and employees at SPD stated that they wanted "agreement" among the volunteers, which caused certain dissenting volunteers to be silenced, highly identified individuals were also problematic. For example, there is the chance that some of the highly identified members might become *overidentified* with some component of the organization. Overidentification occurs when the "overlap between an individual's identity and a social group's identity is…excessive" (Kreiner et al., 2006, p. 1041). Overidentification may lead to unethical behavior, suppressing dissent, and lowering levels of learning and creativity among those overidentified (Ashforth, Harrison, & Corley, 2008; Dukerich, Kramer, & McLean Parks, 1998). As such, the desirability of highly identified members should be questioned by organizations.

Thus, the present study shows that beyond disidentification being advantageous for the volunteers, disidentification is also beneficial for the organization. Past research has referred to organizational attempts to create organizational identification among members as "identification inducements" (Cheney, 1983a; DiSanza & Bullis, 1999; Tompkins & Cheney, 1985). DiSanza and Bullis claim, "It is through subtle, ongoing communicative interactions that members are adapted to the organization" (p. 350). Organizations create identification in members through communicative behaviors such as

recognizing individual contributions, sharing individual's testimonial, or by assuming shared values between the members and organization (DiSanza & Bullis, 1999). Scholars conclude that the inducement messages often serve as forms of unobtrusive control in organizations (DiSanza & Bullis, 1999; Tompkins & Cheney, 1985). However, the present study argues that these attempts to control may be in vain for those members who work best when they are disidentified from the organization. This dissertation provides no evidence that organizational identification is a *bad* construct between members and an organization. Rather, the added value from this study comes from the exposure and benefits of disidentified organizational members.

Yet, the question remains: should organizations seek to foster and create identified members? Though the answer to this question involves additional research sites, it is certain that at SPD disidentified individuals were more committed to their work than others. I encourage future researchers interested in studying the desirability of identification to locate and interview organizational members who work best when they are disidentified. Organizational communication scholars are well suited to study the messages and communication from the organization to negotiate and manage the challenge of having disidentified members.

PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS FOR VOLUNTEERS AND NON-PROFIT ORGANIZATIONS

The theoretical contributions of the present study help to show how scholars should think differently about identification—particularly paying close attention to the nuances of disidentification messages and behaviors. Instead of assuming that a tight bond between organizations and members is the ultimate goal for the organization,

scholars should further consider the benefits of having disidentified members. In addition to the theoretical implications, the present study also has practical implications that shape how volunteers and non-profit organizations communicate and manage disidentification in organizations.

Implications for Volunteers

Volunteer members often work for organizations that likely face some sort of stigma (Ashforth & Kreiner, 2014; Ashforth et al., 2007). The volunteers in the present study faced social and physical stigma in the work they performed. Other non-profits and volunteers face similar dirty work settings in which the work is challenging, emotional, and uncomfortable. The present study provides insight into how volunteers might overcome and endure the negative effects of dirty work. Instead of exiting the organization when there was a separation between the organization and a volunteer's identity, the volunteers that remained at SPD were able to overcome dirty work by disidentifying with one aspect of the organization and identifying with a different identification target. Largely, the subject of the work—the animals—became a focal point for the identification of volunteers. The attachment to the animals was strong enough to endure the areas of the work in which the volunteers disidentified. Volunteers who work in especially challenging contexts should construct identifications with the aspect of the work in which they identify the most. By doing this, the volunteers will be able to overcome some of the specific challenges of dirty work in non-profit organizations.

Secondly, volunteers should consider the impact of the environment on how they construct identifications in non-profit organizations. Past research shows that individuals identify more strongly with teams than with the larger organization (e.g., Lammers et al., 2013). The findings of this study extend this idea by showing how volunteers identified with the subject of the work, the animals at the shelter. Instead of identifying with the larger organizational mission or the organization itself, volunteers should examine how the subject of the work might be a helpful target of identification in difficult and challenging work environments.

Next, some of the volunteers in the present study found it difficult to have a voice in the organization. When there was disagreement with the organization's policies, volunteers struggled to express dissent in an effective and constructive manner. The organization seemed to allow voicing up to a certain point, and particularly if a volunteer held credibility in the organization. SPD volunteers developed credibility through the quality of their work, their consistency in showing up, and by assuming leadership roles. Outside of this research site, it is important for volunteer to find ways to establish their credibility with the organization they serve. For example, when volunteers see a need in their organization, they should strategically advocate for more attention to the issue. Likewise, volunteers who want to build their credibility should establish positive relationships with employees so that there is a collegiality among paid staff members and volunteers. In the present study, volunteers who were active in their role progressed more quickly through the training programs and were accelerated into leadership positions. Thus, if volunteers want more responsibility, they need to be present and show a

commitment to the work of the organization. In this sense, presence communicates more about the volunteer than any verbal message sent from the volunteer. In general, attempts to bridge the gap between employees and volunteers will help volunteers develop credibility within the organization.

Lastly, this study highlights how volunteers can select multiple identification targets. At first this finding seems obvious, but a deeper look unveils that the ability to choose identification targets is a form of *empowerment*. Communication allows organizational members the opportunity to construct identifications with the targets of their choice. The intentionality of this target selection shows that the idea that choosing an identification target may ultimately introduce more success for the individual and the organization. If identification is a communicative process that is self-reinforcing through communication and behavior (Scott et al., 1998), then volunteers have the agency to influence their identification targets and processes. The empowered volunteer may not be reliant upon the autonomy given to them by the organization, but instead on the ability of the volunteer to choose from a range of identification targets. From the organization's perspective, empowerment is viewed as flattening hierarchies, providing members more participation in making decisions, and the formation of more collectivist organizations (e.g., Deetz, 1995). However, the structural approach to empowerment often forgets the agency of the organizational member to create his or her own empowerment. Instead of viewing empowerment as a structural feature, the present study shows how volunteers are able to empower themselves through identification process. By reinforcing their identities and separating out who they are not, volunteers empowered themselves in a way that had

little to do with the efforts or structure of the organization. And finally, the last practical implication considers this study's benefit to organizations looking to manage their volunteers.

Implications for Non-profit Organizations

The findings from the present study are, perhaps, most insightful for volunteer managers and non-profit organizations. Managing volunteers can be a challenging process filled with the negotiation of many difficult tensions (e.g., ownership-oversight, intimacy-distance; McNamee & Peterson, 2014). Chapter 6 exposes some of the difficulties organizations face when trying to manage the multiple identifications of volunteers. Practically speaking, there are several actions organizations can take to effectively manage volunteers with multiple identifications and disidentification.

The members of SPD who expressed organizational disidentification constructed identifications with another aspect of the organization. Non-profit organizations should establish programs and volunteer management systems that enable volunteers to engage their identification target directly. For example, many of the volunteers at SPD identified strongly with the animals. The subject of the volunteers' work became something that the volunteers were able to identify with and the volunteers actively reinforced their identification with the animals through conversations about the animals and spending time with the animals. Similarly, organizations should create avenues for members to engage the subject of their work directly. This may mean that the organization creates messages that foster a sense of *laissez faire* management. Although a hands-off approach to volunteer management is likely difficult, it might empower volunteers to focus on the

subject of the work. Essentially, organizations should seek to "get out of the way" of volunteers when it comes to doing the actual work.

The laissez faire volunteer management approach relies upon the development of a more centralized volunteer management system. As previous literature acknowledges, the flattening out of volunteer management systems into distributed teams helps to *empower* volunteers by providing them more influence over some of the group decisions (Ashcraft & Kedrowicz, 2002). The decentralized approach to volunteer management appears to empower volunteers, but using a team-based structure may not always lead to empowered volunteers. The additional responsibilities of the volunteers in a distributed team environment may remove the volunteers from performing the actual work. In the present study, one dog-walking volunteer experienced this tension when she was given leadership responsibilities. As a result, she had to perform more administrative duties as well as train the dog walkers. Ultimately, the non-dog-walking work responsibilities prevented the volunteer, who primarily wanted to walk dogs, from working with her primary identification target, the animals.

Since volunteers may value the activity over the empowerment associated with a team-based system (Ashcraft & Kedrowicz, 2002), organizations should reconsider shifting to a centralized management system. Centralized management systems oversee volunteers from one department within the non-profit organization (Anheier, 2014). Centralized management systems are helpful because they require support from the top of the organization and help avoid the repetition of work by allocating volunteers from a centralized position (Anheier, 2014). Since the communication, instruction, and training

will be completed through one centralized system, the volunteers may be better supported to do the work they were initially motivated to perform.

Lastly, non-profit organizations should continue to expect their volunteers to voice dissent and criticism. Volunteers that disagree with the organization play an integral and healthy function within the organization. Instead of attempting to limit volunteers' voice, organizations should provide communication outlets for volunteers to share their ideas, critiques, and opinions. It is easy for organizations to view disidentified volunteers that voice dissent in a negative light. Volunteers that construct identifications separate to the organization will appear "distant" from the organization. However, organizations that are able to embrace dissent and voicing from volunteers will be able to withstand any *perceived* negative effects of disidentified volunteers. Organizations that immediately assume that disidentified volunteers are not worth the time to engage might miss out on having highly committed and hard-working members of the organization. The organization may *misinterpret* a member's disidentification as something that needs to be altered or adjusted.

Additionally, non-profit organizations should train employees who regularly work with volunteers to communicate effectively with volunteer members of the organization. The present study found evidence of conflict between employees and volunteers. The conflict centered on the ability of employees and volunteers to communicate differences in their work. Training employees and volunteers to communicate across different membership boundaries would help organizations manage through conflict.

The practical implications from the findings are primarily directed towards organizations and volunteers with similar characteristics as the personnel at SPD. In general, volunteers should find, or construct identifications with specific targets of identification that align closely to their personal values, motivations, and attitudes. Organizations, on the other hand, should recognize the complexity and importance volunteers' identifications and disidentifications. By acknowledging the different types of identifications and disidentifications of volunteers, organizations will be better positioned to "get out of the way" and allow volunteers to complete their work.

DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

In this dissertation, identification and disidentification provided a means to endure challenging dirty work at an animal shelter. As organizations continue to shift and different types of memberships are created, scholars should continue to study the communicative construction of identification and its consequences on the work of the organization. Based on the findings and implications of the present study, there are three main opportunities for scholars to further examine volunteer work, identification, and volunteer management.

First, future research should continue to investigate volunteer identification in different volunteer contexts. As mentioned previously, volunteerism can take on many forms. According to Lewis (2013), the new trends in volunteering influence the way in which volunteers are studied. Lewis (2013) identifies episodic volunteering, virtual volunteering, travel volunteering, and corporate volunteering as trends in volunteerism. Individuals who participate in different types of volunteering are likely to construct

identifications that are distinctive from stable volunteer arrangements. For example, scholars have started to study the patterns of volunteers who primarily volunteer through online avenues (Cravens, 2006; Murray & Harrison, 2005). The volunteer practices and behaviors are quite different than a volunteer who gathers with other volunteers, meets in a physical organization, and performs manual labor. The findings from the present study suggest that virtual volunteers may construct identifications and disidentifications differently than other types of volunteers. Accordingly, future research on identification in different volunteer contexts would provide insight into how the communication of identity shifts depending on the situation (Scott et al., 1998; Scott & Stephens, 2009). The emerging types of volunteering, such as virtual volunteering, provide an opportunity for researchers to study the communication surrounding identity formation as a new type of volunteering is developed. Virtual volunteering also has important implications concerning the physical presence of volunteers. Given that the present study found that volunteer presences on-site was important in building credibility at SPD, are virtual volunteers able to establish credibility and legitimacy with the organization? As volunteer work changes, so do the ways in which volunteers identify with organizations.

Secondly, research on volunteer work should further the role of affect on the relationship between identification volunteering. Although the present study focused on the dirty nature of the work, the participants expressed sadness as they reflected upon dogs that had been euthanized and elation when a puppy was adopted. Researchers have started to uncover the impact of emotion on volunteers by studying how different types of volunteer work leads to increased emotional labor (e.g., Eschenfelder, 2012; Haski-

Leventhal & Bargal, 2008). These studies indicate that emotion is a part of volunteer work and that the emotional aspect of volunteering may be a central motivator for volunteer recruitment.

Communication scholars ought to continue to study emotion and volunteerism by researching the ways in which volunteers cope with negative and positive emotional experiences. One recent lens that might be helpful in the pursuit of research on emotional labor, identification, and volunteerism is the work on resilience (Agarwal & Buzzanell, 2015; Buzzanell, 2010). Identification may be a means to create resiliency among volunteer workers in intense, emotional, or difficult work environments. Agarwal and Buzzanell (2015) recently studied the intersection of identification and resilience and found that resilience labor is "sustained through the dual-layer processes of creating resilience in others and themselves through connections to identity/identification networks" (p. 422). Studying resilience labor is important in work contexts that are characterized by strong tensions and challenging work. Scholars should look to extend resilience labor research by looking at how organizational members collectively utilize identifications in resilient organizing processes.

Lastly, it is evident from this study that status was an important factor in the interaction between the volunteers and employees at the animal shelter. As the volunteers worked, they sought to develop credibility and legitimacy with the paid employees. The division between volunteers and employees presents an intriguing question about how volunteers enhance their status position with employees of non-profit organizations. Scholars have looked at the relationship between volunteers and employees (Netting et

al., 2004), but studying volunteers through their status as volunteers may provide a different perspective on the division between volunteers and employees in the same organization.

CONCLUSION

In this dissertation, I showed how communication constitutes both identification and disidentification. The messages organizational members send, receive, and enact, play an important role in constituting their identity. Considering the centrality of identity to the human experience, it is important to investigate the interplay of organizing and identification. Whereas each person constructs a unique identification with his or her target of choice, identification is neither a singular nor binary construct. Instead this study shows how there are multiple targets of identification and that disidentification is different from a lack of identification altogether. To better understand how organizational members identify—or disidentify—with an organization, scholars should continue to examine the communication, interaction, and work of identified and disidentified individuals. Specifically in a volunteer context, this study provides evidence that the presence of disidentification was not inherently related to negative organizational outcomes.. Instead, these members are often the most consistent volunteers engaging in the most challenging work. Acknowledging that not all committed and engaged workers are strongly identified with the organization they serve problematizes the assumption that identified workers equal productive workers. In fact, the evidence from this study shows that, in some cases, separation between one's identity and the organization may be ultimately beneficial to both the organization and the individual.

To close this dissertation, I thought I would share a quote that is partially tattooed on one of the volunteers at SPD. The bold text shows which words were tattooed on her arm. The volunteer who had the tattoo was one of the most involved, highly committed volunteers. She primarily identified with the dogs and the following quote shows how she perceived herself in her volunteer work. While this dissertation showed the influence of disidentification on volunteers, some volunteers still constructed strong identifications with their volunteer work. The quote represents how volunteers often view their volunteer work and why it is important to them to do the disgusting and dangerous work. Studying identification helps to unravel the interrelated nature of identity, work, and communication and should continue to be examined.

> *Anyway, I keep picturing all these little kids playing some game in a field of rye and all. Thousands of little kids, and nobody's around—nobody big, I mean—except me. And I'm standing on the edge of some crazy cliff. What I have to do, I have to catch everybody if they start to go over the cliff—I mean if they're running and they don't look where they're going I have to come out from somewhere and catch them.* ***That's all I'd do all day. I'd just be the catcher in the rye and all. I know it's crazy, but that's the only thing I'd really like to be****."*
>
> *--Holden Caulfield, Catcher in the Rye by J.D. Salinger*

Appendix: Semi-Structured Interview Questions

A. Background Questions

1. Tell me a little bit about your background
    a. Where do you work?
    b. What do you do outside of volunteering?
2. What brought you to APA?
    a. What messages about this volunteering opportunity made it seem best for you?
    b. How did you seek information concerning volunteering at APA

B. Volunteer Motivation

1. What is your history of volunteering?
    a. How long have you volunteered?
    b. Where did you first volunteer?
2. Why are you volunteering at APA?
    a. What brought you to APA?
    b. How did you seek information concerning volunteering at APA?
    c. What information did you find about APA and from what sources?

C. Volunteer Role and Function

1. What is your role as a volunteer?
2. What rules and guidelines shape your work?
    a. What group are you in?

b. How many different groups do you volunteer with?

3. How do you balance your personal life with your volunteer work?

D. Identity

1. When a friend asks you if you volunteer, what do you say?
    a. What does it mean for you to personally work at APA?
    b. What are the goals and values of APA?
        i. Do these values line up with your personal values?
        ii. Do you have similar personal goals as you do volunteer goals?
2. What sort of relationship do you have with other volunteers?
    a. How similar/dissimilar are you to other volunteers?
    b. How similar/dissimilar are you to APA staff?
    c. Do you ever recruit others to come volunteer at APA?
3. In what ways has APA made you feel like you are a member?
    a. Have you received any company paraphernalia?
    b. Have you been on any email lists?
    c. Have you accessed the Vol2 software?
    d. What communication have you had with the team?
    e. Do you feel like you are a member of APA? Why or why not?

E. Socialization

1. Did you attend the volunteer orientation?
    a. When did you go?
    b. What do you remember about the orientation?

c. How soon after the orientation did you first volunteer?

2. What did your first mentor session look like?
3. How often do you interact with that particular mentor?
4. Describe a typical day volunteering for me.

F. Fun, Closing Questions

1. What is the best thing about volunteering at APA?
2. What is the most trying?
3. How long do you plan on volunteering with APA?

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